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complaining of, the Hon. the Minister for Revenue will consider more seriously the question of postponing payment of compensation to these zamindars? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" No, Sir."

SRI C. H. KANARAN :—" May I know how many acres of land have been allotted to each estate-holder for his own cultivation? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Notice."

MR. SPEAKER :—" A separate question may be put."

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" May I know the total amount deposited with the various tribunals in the State? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" A sum of Rs. 4,47,53,010 has been deposited with the various tribunals up to 31st March 1952."

II.—VOTING ON DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

(1) DEMAND IX—HEADS OF STATES, MINISTERS AND HEADQUARTERS STAFF—cont.

MR. SPEAKER :—" Yesterday there was discussion for an hour on this Demand. The time allotted is four hours for this Demand and the Hon. the Chief Minister will reply at 3-30 p.m."

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, in having to speak about Heads of States and Ministers and Headquarters staff, I am aware that I have got to go along only a beaten track. I am also aware that we are, according to the Constitution, not allowed to vote except on a small sum of Rs. 25,000 which is placed in the hands of His Excellency the Governor for making discretionary grants. The object of our speeches here is not that we should have an immediate and forthright reduction in this item of expenditure from the State Exchequer. But our feeling is that we are spending public money—we are wasting, I would call it—in such a way that it is not appreciated by the people to-day. We are living in an era of common men. This is an age of the poor. We are living under a democratic set-up. Ours is a Republican Government. Therefore we have now to begin straightway on republican methods, our financial transactions not being excluded. In this context, it therefore becomes relevant and also very important that we should turn our attention first to this aspect and see that we spend our money properly. It is here that I would humbly tell the House that even the highest placed officials and Heads of States in other countries do not draw such fabulous salaries as we give them here. Not even in China or in Russia which are countries admittedly bigger not only in population but also in area, do their Presidents draw bigger salaries than we give here. They are not smaller men than the Governor of any State in India. Therefore, Sir, it

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becomes incumbent on us who are dealing with the monetary mechanism of the State to see that we spend less and less on these items, if not now, at least in future years.

" I would just refer to a few items in the Budget Estimate of 1952-53 for the Governor and his household. There are three items on which I want particularly to say something. I take exception to these items of expenditure. Under the item of ' Staff and Household ', the Government are going to spend Rs. 2,48,000. The next item is Contract Allowances and the Government have set apart Rs. 1,50,000 for this. The third one is household furniture, utensils and the rest including tour expenses on which the Governor is to spend Rs. 1,71,000. I submit that these three items particularly are too much, especially if we take into consideration the fact that we are constantly in need of funds for the various ameliorative measures which are directly concerned with the common man and for which the common man is always crying now. Though immediate reduction is called for in this field of expenditure, it is not possible for us to do so now. But, still the Government can help in bringing our views in this House to the notice of the Government of India so that the Parliament of India can take necessary steps in this matter and see that the people's cry is heeded.

" Coming to the question of high salaries paid to the officials, including Heads of Departments in the State, I submit that if it was possible for the Chief Minister of this State to fix only Rs. 500 for the Ministers in 1937, it is quite possible and easy for him to fix the salaries of Heads of Departments at that level now or, we do not grudge it, even double that amount. I humbly submit to this House that it will not be necessary to fix more than Rs. 1,000 for any Head of Department in this State and I would include in this category the Chief Secretary to the Government also however efficient he may be however necessary he may be and however honest he may be. Coming to the bottom rungs of the ladder of administration, I feel that there is large scope for us to introduce retrenchment and thereby save a lot of money which may run to several lakhs and which could be utilized for solving our various other problems. In this connexion, it would be very relevant to mention how the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was constantly dinning into our ears that it was not within the capacity of this poor country to spend large amounts on salaries. He was telling in season and out of season that to receive large salaries would be almost a sin. I do remember that he was even saying that, if a rich man happened to occupy any of the administrative posts, he would even go to the extent of advising him not to receive any salary so that the saving that accrues to the coffers of the State by this sacrifice may go to the help of the poor man. Here I would like to recall how our own Gracious and Noble President—the President of India—has recently made a voluntary cut of about Rs. 4,000 in his own salary. We understand that the President of India is to get only Rs. 6,000 from out of the public exchequer. If the President could effect a cut in his salary, I think it is high time that others also followed suit. I think, Sir, the way in which the

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President has effected a cut in his salary is an indirect indication to other subordinates of his to follow his example, whether they are Governors or anybody else. I think this is the way in which his mind has worked. In the interests of the State and its finances, I entreat hon. Members of this House to see that the Government effect large scale economies in their expenditure not only on the Governor but on every other item of expenditure right from the Governor down to the lowest paid official in the State. When the persons in the lower rungs of the ladder of administration cry for more salaries, we are not able to satisfy their demands. Of course, I admit there must be a limit to the cries of our administrative personnel for increase in their pay and allowances. Still, we have to satisfy ourselves whether we have gone at least half-way to meet their cries. So long as the Government are not able to do justice to their low-paid subordinates, there is no meaning in continuing to pay high salaries to other officials.

"With these words, Sir, I support the cut motion that has been moved."

(At this stage, Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

11-30
a.m.

* SRI R. M. PALANIAPPAN:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I come from the State of Pudukottai which is backward. After the merger of the State with Madras, some Government servants of that State were given the provincial scales of pay but most of them continue to get only the scales of pay they were getting under the old State Government. I request the Government to do the needful in this matter. Then, Sir, I request the Government to have a firka development scheme for the very backward taluks of Kula-thur and Alangudi. Arrangements may also be made to supply electric power to these taluks. When the Madras State took over the balances of the Pudukottai State from that State treasury there were two specifically earmarked funds, viz., T.B. and College funds. I request the Government of Madras to speed up the utilization of these funds for the purposes for which they were specifically earmarked. At the time of the merger there was a bore-well machine in the State. It has since been removed. We do not know where it is now. My information is that it has been sent to the Moyar Project. I request the Government to bring it back to the State and help the poor ryots and agriculturists by letting it on reasonable hire to them.

"Finally I submit that Pudukottai has all the facilities to be made the headquarters of a district. There are a number of buildings, a number of high schools and a college. Ramnad district has no headquarters, within its own area. I request the Government to merge Pudukottai in Ramnad district and make Pudukottai, the headquarters of the combined district. With these words I support the demand."

* SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, His Excellency the Governor of Madras in his Address to both the Houses of Legislature stated that we would be having a very detailed

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picture of the financial and the economic aspects of the administration of our State in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister. We have heard the speech of the Hon. Finance Minister and he has portrayed to us rather a fine picture. I find in the picture certain blemishes, the chief of which relates to the expenditure that we incur on the Head of the State, namely, the Governor of Madras. We are spending on the Governor and his household about Rs. 7,24,000. I am aware that this expenditure is charged and it cannot be reduced. But I will be failing in my duty if I do not tell the House that what we are spending is rather exorbitant and it is high time we made some attempts to reduce the amount spent under this head. The institution of Governors was borrowed by us from the Britishers. The British Governor was a foreigner. He came to India for the purpose of getting rich as quickly as possible with the connivance of the highest head of the State."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" They are not here. Why talk about absentees? "

* SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANI :—" I am not talking about the absentees. I am talking about the present policy. The Britisher was justified in taking away as much as he could because he was a foreigner. We are now living under a democratic Constitution. We believe in the equality of persons and this is guaranteed to us under the Constitution. That being so, there is no reason why there should be so much of difference in the scale of pay allowed to the Head of the State and the ordinary official. It is high time we establish sound traditions in this respect. I am aware, Sir, that our present Governor is a very cultured person and a simple man who has been trained in the Gandhian ' ideal ' of simplicity. I do not think he will be a willing party to wasting so much of money from the State resources on pomp and pleasure. I will catalogue only a few instances of expenditure that is ordinarily incurred on the household of the Governor. I do not grudge the pay of the Governor for which a sum of Rs. 66,000 is provided. I won't grudge even if he is paid a lakh of rupees. That is the salary for the high office held by him. But, I only object to the other allowances that he gets. I do not know whether he gets any benefit out of the allowances provided for him or whether they are wasted in some other way. He is given a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 22,500. How it is to be spent, for what purposes and whether there is any audit on the expenditure, I do not know. We are going to spend Rs. 46,000 on the Secretariat staff of the Governor. I do not know the reason why we should spend so much on his staff. For the household expenses, that is for the Comptroller of the household, Aides-de-camp and office establishment, we have provided rupees 1,17,000. I believe they are paid their salaries in addition to free housing accommodation and food. Besides the sumptuary allowance the Governor is paid an entertainment allowance also. It will thus be seen that there is an overlapping of allowances. Again, Sir, the Governor is given a furniture allowance of Rs. 45,000. If every year the Governor is paid this sum for purchase of furniture,

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I think by this time there would be such a lot of them that even the Madras State cannot hold them. I wonder whether they are purchasing furniture and repairing them at all. There is a provision of Rs. 15,000 for the purchase of new pictures. If every year we purchase pictures worth Rs. 15,000, where is the place which would hold all the pictures? I believe there must be some defect in these things. Our Governor is a healthy man. I do not think he would have fallen sick for even a single day. But a provision of Rs. 17,000 has been made for medical expenses for the Governor. There is another item on which we are spending about Rs. 64,000. I refer to the gardens. If you are spending Rs. 64,000 for the maintenance of the Governor's gardens, what is the return that we get from these gardens? There must be fruits and other things obtained from the gardens. Is any return obtained by selling the fruits? What is the number of gardeners employed? I say, Sir, the expenditure of Rs. 64,000 on these gardens is a colossal waste. There is an item, called 'Contract allowances' and the provision made is Rs. 1,50,000. I do not know for what purpose this provision is made. The Governor is given some tour allowances. I do not grudge this. He is entitled to tour. There is only one item which we can reduce and that is the 'discretionary grants'. When the Governor has been given so much by way of so many other allowances why give an additional sum of Rs. 25,000 as discretionary allowance? This is beyond my comprehension. When we compare these figures to the amount that we spend on the Ministers, Members of Legislature and others, we find that the amount that is spent on them is very low. The Governor, his staff and household get about Rs. 7,24,000 whereas the Ministers, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Members of the Legislature and members of the Secretariat of the Legislature get only 14 lakhs, that is about twice the amount that we spend on the Governor. This is very little for the work turned out by the Ministers especially when they work for more than 18 hours as I have heard the Hon. Chief Minister often say.

"Now, Sir, I would refer to the disparity that exists between the highest paid and the lowest paid officials in the Government. A senior N.G.O. may be getting about Rs. 200 a month but he is expected to meet all his expenses, medical as well as other things, from this Rs. 200 whereas the higher paid officials are given car and other allowances. The N.G.O. is the backbone of the administration. Without him the highest official cannot get on with his work. This man works all day in the office and takes files home and works during the night also. In China I am told even the highest official of the State, Mao-Tse-Tung, is paid Rs. 600 and the disparity between the salary of the highest and that of the lowest is not much, and if at all there is any disparity, it is negligible.

"Ours is an infant State. We must work in such a way that the difference in pay is reduced to the minimum. Sir, I submit that a committee should be appointed to go into the various provisions made under this head to find out where exactly we can reduce the expenditure and where, if necessary, we can increase the salary or other allowances."

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* SRI M. P. PERIASAMI:—“கனம் உதவித் தலைவர் அவர்களே ! இந்த மானியத்தை ஆதரித்து சில முக்கியமான விஷயங்களைச் சொல்லப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். இந்த மானியம் அரசாங்கத்தைப் பொறுப்பாக நிர்வகித்து வருகின்ற மந்திரிகளின் சம்பளத்தைப் பற்றியும், மேன்மைதங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய சம்பளத்தைப் பற்றியும் விவாதிக்க வேண்டிய நிலையை உண்டு பண்ணுகிறது. நிர்வாகம் நல்ல முறையில் நடக்கவேண்டுமென்றால் அவர்களுக்கு தக்க சம்பளமும் கொடுக்கத்தான் வேண்டுமென்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம். அதிகாரிகளுக்கும் அவர்களுடைய படிப்புக்குத் தக்கபடி, வேலைக்குத் தக்கபடி சம்பளம் கொடுத்தால் தான் அவர்களும் ஊக்கமாக வேலை செய்வார்கள். ஒரு எஸ்.எஸ்.எல்.ஸி. படித்த உத்தியோகஸ்தருக்கும், பி.ஏ. படித்த உத்தியோகஸ்தருக்கும் ஒரே சம்பளம் என்றால் பி.ஏ. படித்தவன் எப்படி ஊக்கமாக வேலை செய்வான் என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஆகையினால் அவரவர்களுடைய படிப்பு, வேலை இவைகளுக்குத் தக்கபடி சம்பளமும் கொடுப்பது ரொம்பவும் அவசியமாகும்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக சில மந்திரிகள் நடந்து கொள்ளுகிற விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகள் சொல்லப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். நிர்வாகச் விஷயங்களைக் கவனிப்பதற்காக ஒரு தனி இலாகாவும், அதற்கென்று ஒரு தனி மந்திரியும் இருக்கிறார்கள். விவசாயத்தை அதிகம் செய்ய எங்கெங்கே அணைக்கட்டுகள் கட்டவேண்டும். எந்தெந்த இடத்திலே உடனடியாக வேலையைச் செய்ய ஆரம்பிக்கவேண்டும் என்பதாக வெல்லாம் அறிந்து கொள்ள சற்றுப்பிரயாணம் செய்வது விவசாய மந்திரியினுடைய கடமையாகும். அதிகாரிகள் சொல்வதை வைத்துக் கொண்டு இவர்கள் இங்கிருந்தபடியே பதில் சொல்வதினால் எந்தவித அனுசூலமும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு ஏற்படாது. அதிகாரிகள் எதையாவது எழுதுவது, இவர்கள் அதை அப்படியே முதல் தடவையாகப் படித்துவிடுவது என்பது உசித மில்லை. பொது மக்களிடமிருந்து அதிகாரிகள் சொல்வது தவறு என்று ரிபோர்ட் வந்தால் உடனே மந்திரிகள் அந்த இடத்திற்கு நேரிடையாகச் சென்று அதற்கு வேண்டிய விமோசனம் செய்தால் தான் மக்களுக்கு சௌகரியம் உண்டாகும்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக போலீஸ் நிர்வாகம் இருக்கிறது. போலீஸ்காரர்கள் சரியான முறையில் நடந்து கொள்ளவில்லை யென்பது பொது ஜனங்களுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். அம்மாதிரி நியாயமாக நடந்து கொள்ளாதவர்களின் மேல் நிறைய புகார்கள் பொது ஜனங்கள் அனுப்புகிறார்கள். அப்படியிருந்தும் அந்த அதிகாரிகள் மேலதிகாரிகளுக்கு வேண்டியவர்கள் என்பதற்காக இவர்கள் மீது வரும் புகார்களையெல்லாம் மேலுக்கு வராதபடி செய்துவிடுகிறார்கள். பொதுமக்கள் அதனால் அதிருப்தி அடைகிறார்கள். மீண்டும் அவைகள் பொரணைக்கு வருமானால் மந்திரிகளே நேரில் அங்கே சென்று அது பற்றி தகவல்களை விசாரிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அப்பொழுது தான் சரியாக நிதி வழங்கப்பட்டதாக மக்கள் கருதுவார்கள்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். கல்வி விஷயத்தில் ‘கல்வியை விருத்தி செய்யவேண்டும், விருத்தி செய்ய வேண்டும்’ மென்று நமது மாகாணத்தில் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் பிரசாரங்கள் நடைபெற்று வருகின்றன. அதேமாதிரியாக கிராமங்களை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் கிராமங்களில் ஹைஸ்கூல்களை ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக கிராமப் பொது ஜனங்கள் எல்லோரும் நிதி திரட்டுகிறார்கள். பள்ளிக்கூடம் கட்டுவதற்காக 20 ஏக்கர் நிலமும், 40 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் 70 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் என்று பணமும் வசூலிக்கப்பட்டு ஹைஸ்கூல் ஏற்படுத்துவதற்கு சர்க்காரிடம் அனுமதி கேட்கும்போது அதை உடனடியாகக் கொடுப்பதில்லை. பிள்ளைகள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஜில்லா போர்டு பிரிசிடெண்டு கூட கட்டிடம் கட்டுவதற்கு சிபார்சு செய்து வருகிறார்கள். சர்க்கார் இந்த விஷயத்தில் சிரத்தையாகவும், சுறுசுறுப்பாகவும் நடந்து கொண்டால் தான் நல்லது. கட்டிடம் கட்டுவதற்காக 20 ஏக்கர் நிலமும், ரொக்கமாக 50 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் பணமும் வசூல் செய்து வைத்துக்

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a.m.

[Sri M. P. Periasami]

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கொண்டு sanction-க்கு எழுதும்போது சர்க்கார் அதை உடனே அனுமதித்தால் தான் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு மிகவும் உதவியாக இருக்கும். மந்திரி அவர்கள் அதற்குத் தக்க முயற்சி எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சேலம் ஜில்லாவில் ஹெஸ்கூல்களைப் பற்றி நானும் கனம் ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவரும் கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் கூறியிருக்கிறோம்.

“ சில ஜில்லாவிலே முக்கியமான பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு ஜில்லா போர்டு பிரிசிடெண்டின் சிபார்சின் பேரில் சர்க்கார் உதவி அளித்து வருகிறார்கள். இனிமேலும் தொடர்ந்து அம்மாதிரியான உதவி அளிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ அதேமாதிரி ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கென்று தனியாக ஒரு மந்திரி இருக்கிறார். எல்லா மந்திரிகளைக் காட்டிலும் ஹரிஜன் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு மந்திரிக்குத் தான் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டம். பல ஆயிரக்கணக்கான வருஷங்களாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் திண்டிப்பாதவர்களாக கருதப்பட்டு வந்ததால் இன்றும் கூட வண்டி நிறைய பஸ் வைத்துக் கொண்டு செல்லும் ஒரு ஹரிஜனன் எத்தனையோ இடங்களில் உயர்ந்த ஜாதியார் வாழும் இடங்களின் தெருவில் குறிப்பாக ஆத்தார் தாலுக்காவில் வண்டியில் உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டே போகாமல் வண்டியை விட்டு கீழே இறங்கி நடந்து சென்று அந்தத் தெரு தாண்டியவுடன் வண்டியில் ஏறிக்கொள்ளும் நிலைமை இருந்து வருகிறது. காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் பதவிக்கு வந்து ஹரிஜனங்கள் திண்டிப்பாதவர்கள் என்ற நிலையை மாற்றவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சட்டங்கள் போட்டும் கூட இன்றைய நிலைமை முன்பு இருந்தது போலவே தான் இருந்து வருகிறது. ஹரிஜனங்களை பொதுக் கிணறுகளிலோ, குளங்களிலோ தண்ணீர் எடுத்துக்கொள்ள விடுவதில்லை. ‘பஸ்களில் ஏற அனுமதிப்பதில்லை. அவர்களுக்கு அனுகூலங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று தான் சட்டங்களைப் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார். ஆனால் யாரும் சட்டங்களின்படி நடப்பதில்லை. இதைப்பற்றி போலீஸ்காரர்களிடம் புகார் செய்தாலும், ‘எல்லாம் ஒரே நாளில் வந்து விடுமா? நாளா வட்டத்தில் தானே வந்து விடும், போய் வாருங்கள்’, என்று சொல்லி விடுகிறார்கள். சட்டங்கள் இருந்தும் கூட அதிகாரிகள் ஒழுங்காக நடந்து கொள்ளாததினால் இன்று ஹரிஜனங்கள் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டு தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். நமது காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்ன செய்யவேண்டுமோ அதையெல்லாம் செய்து தான் வருகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அரசாங்க அதிகாரிகளின் மனம் தான் மாறவேயில்லை. அதற்கு கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள் தக்க ஏற்பாட்டைச் செய்யவேண்டும். கனம் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் தான் 1937-38-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஆலயம் பிரவேசச் சட்டத்தைக்கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது பெரிய எதிர்ப்புகளிடையே தான் மதுரை ஸ்ரீ எ. வைத்தியநாத ஐயர் அவர்கள், மதுரையில் ஆலயம் பிரவேசத்தை நடத்தி வைத்தார்கள். உயிரை திரண்டாக மதித்து அவர் நடத்திய செய்கைக்கு அரசாங்கமும் உடனே அனுமதி கொடுத்தது. அந்தவிதமாக சர்க்கார் செய்ததால் தான் காரியம் வெற்றி கரமாக முடிந்தது. அதே முதன்மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ வி. ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் தான் இப்பொழுதும் 1952-ல் பிரதமராக வந்திருக்கிறார். அதனால் தான் ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய சகல குறைகளும் இப்பொழுது நீங்கி விடுமென்று நாங்கள் எதிர்பார்க்கிறோம். இருந்தபோதிலும் தற்சமயத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய மனம் வருத்தப்படும்படியாக ஹாஸ்டல் கிராண்டை குறைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதையும் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். அதோடு ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்னென்ன சௌகரியங்களைச் செய்ய முடியுமோ, அந்தந்த சௌகரியங்களை உடனடியாக கவனித்து ஒழுங்காக செய்து கொடுப்பதற்குத் தக்க முயற்சியை கனம் ஹரிஜன மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனித்துச் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

“ ஒவ்வொரு ஊர்களில் யாராவது ஒருவன் குற்றம் செய்தால் கூட அக்குற்றத்தை ஒரு ஏழை ஹரிஜனன் பேரில் சுமத்தி ஊரிலுள்ளோர் யாவரும் சேர்ந்து ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்னென்ன கஷ்டங்களை ஏற்படுத்த முடியுமோ அவ்வளவையும் ஏற்படுத்துகிறார்கள். அந்த ஊரிலுள்ள

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[Sri M. P. Periasami]

கர்ணம், கிராம முன்சீப் போன்றவர்களும் மற்ற இதர உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களும் பெரிய மிராசுதார்களுடைய கட்சியையே ஆதரிக்கிறார்கள். இது மாதிரியான விஷயங்களில் கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள் நேரிலேயே அந்த ஊருக்குச் சென்று விஷயங்களை தீர விசாரணை செய்து அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“மராமத்து மந்திரியாக ஸ்ரீ பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்கள் இருந்த காலத்திலேயே மோகனூர் பக்கம் காவேரிக்கரையோரங்களில் கால்பாசல்கள் கட்டிடம் கட்டவேண்டுமென்றும் சொன்னேன். இப்பொழுது கட்டாததால் தான் கரையோரமுள்ள அணைக்கட்டை ஆற்று ஜலம் அறுத்துக் கொண்டு அதனால் மோகனூர் வாய்க்கால் உடைப்பு ஏற்பட்டு வாய்க்காலும் காய்ந்து விட்டது. மகசூல் நஷ்டம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆற்றுப் படுகைகள் வரவாகக் குறைந்து கொண்டே வருகின்றன. படுகையை அறுத்துக் கொண்டு ஆறு உள்ளே போய்க் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. வருஷா வருஷம் ஒவ்வொரு பட்டுடை கூட்டத்திலேயும் இதைப் பற்றி சொல்லிக்கொண்டே வருகிறேன். இருந்தாலும் அது இன்னும் நடந்தபாடில்ல. இப்பொழுது வரவாக கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள், இன்ஜினியர்களின் உதவியைக் கொண்டு அதைக் கட்டிமுடிக்க தக்க ஏற்பாட்டைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். கடைசியாக ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய கஷ்டங்களை நீக்குவதற்கு சர்க்கார் எல்லா ஏற்பாட்டையும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in supporting the Cut Motion, I would like to offer a few remarks in regard to the manner in which the Government compiles the working class cost of living index. You are aware, Sir, that the wages of large sections of the industrial workers in this country are fixed on the basis of awards given by Industrial Tribunals and it is customary to fix the wages on the basis of a sliding scale based on the Government cost of living index. The dearness allowance is supposed to go up or go down according as the cost of living index goes up or down. Therefore, Sir, when wages are being fixed as a result of awards by Industrial Tribunals on the basis of the cost of living index prepared by the Government of Madras, if there is wrong compilation and if the index is kept artificially low, to that extent the workers are deprived of what is legitimately due to them under the awards of the Industrial Tribunals. I submit, Sir, there is an unholy alliance between the Government of Madras and the industrialists to keep this cost of living index artificially low. In succumbing to this temptation, the Government of Madras is not in any way different from other Governments in the world. It may be remembered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hugh Dalton, in a fit of candour admitted that the cost of living index prepared by the Government of the United Kingdom was being kept artificially low, and that it did not accurately reflect the high cost of living. It is because of this fact, viz., that Government are likely to yield to the temptation of keeping the cost of living index artificially low, inasmuch as they themselves are large employers of labour, that the Commonwealth of Australia took away the task of compiling cost of living indices from the hands of the Government and assigned it to industrial courts. Therefore, I would suggest that some Advisory Committee or Tripartite Committee with a Chairman whose integrity will not be doubted, may be appointed

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for the purpose of seeing that the index is correctly compiled. I have collected some figures with regard to the present prices as quoted in the Government cost of living index and the actual prices as they obtain to-day in the market of Madras City. I take my figures from one of the latest issues of the *Fort St. George Gazette*, viz., 18th June 1952—

Commodity.	Prices taken for preparing cost of living index by the Government of Madars.			Actual prices.		
	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
Ragi	0	5	0	0	10	0 (T.U.C.S.).
Coconut oil/viss	2	6	1	2	12	0 (do.).
Gingelly oil/viss	2	3	4	2	12	0 (do.).
Charcoal/bag of 56 lbs... ..	4	2	0	4	12	0 (Market).
Milk	1	4	0	1	8	0 (do.).
Sarees	6	11	0	10	0	0 (do. 40 counts).
Shirting per yard	0	13	0	14	12	0 (do. 60 counts).
				16	0	0 (do. 80 counts).
				20	0	0 (do. 100 counts).

There is no shirting cloth available in the market for Re. 0-13-0 per yard. Even in the case of cinemas and amusement, etc., according to the index prepared by the Government, the cost of one ticket was taken as Re. 0-4-0 in 1936 and to-day it is quoted by the Government index as being Re. 0-4-9. In other words, after thirteen years, according to Government, there has been an increase of only nine pies which is equivalent to the entertainment tax whereas every worker knows that the expenditure in the case of amusements has doubled during this period.

“ According to the index prepared by the Government, the cost so far as travelling expenses are concerned has risen between 1936 and 1952 from Re. 0-1-3 to Re. 0-1-11. I would like to know whether the Transport Service in the Madras City has increased the rate only by this amount.

12 noon. “ The absurdity of these figures is also brought out by comparing the working class cost of living index with the Government indices prepared for wholesale commodities. According to the indices published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 18th June 1952, the price index of dhall for working class men is said to be 436 for May 1952 whereas for the same commodity according to the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 11th June 1952, the Madras City wholesale price index is said to be 489. Let me take the figure for coconut and gingelly oils of which I have made mention earlier. The working class price index for this commodity is 365 while the wholesale price index for the same is 554. The two figures so far as clothing is concerned are 384 and 377 respectively. These wide discrepancies of the two indices clearly show that the compilation of indices for Madras City is thoroughly misleading and is not being

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made honestly and accurately. We have got different indices for different districts in our own State. I shall give the cost of living indices in some parts of the State as given in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 11th June 1952—

Name of place.	Cost of living index.
Madras City	326
Visakhapatnam	352
Eluru	442
Bellary	387
Cuddalore	361
Tiruchirappalli	354
Madurai	354
Coimbatore	407
Kozhikode	481

Why is there such a wide disparity between the cost of living in these places when all of them are in one State and when the items included in the several indices are more or less the same? How is it that in Coimbatore and Kozhikode alone the figure has surpassed the four hundred mark while it is only 326 for Madras City? The answer is simple. It is because the Industrial Tribunal are in the habit of awarding dearness allowance on the basis of the cost of living index for Madras City. If the compilation of these indices is honestly done, the index for Madras City will not be much lower than that for Kozhikode. On behalf of the working class, Sir, I demand that the compilation of these statistics should be done on correct lines.

“ I will refer to another peculiarity, viz., the method of compiling of the index for vegetables. In the year 1936 the prices for all sorts of vegetables like potatoes, onions, brinjals and so forth were given. Now there is an entirely different procedure. There is only one item entitled ‘ vegetables ’. We do not know, nor are we informed, what items come under this category. Government alone can testify to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the index and price quoted for this commodity, or rather this group of commodities.

“ Some time ago, the Government of India advised all the State Governments to adopt a uniform policy for preparing the cost of living indices. But the Madras Government vehemently opposed the extension of that scheme to this State. They have adopted their own methods. That is why we find the cost of living index for Madras City is very much below that of Calcutta, Delhi and other centres. Wherever possible, the Government of India should hold proper enquiries and arrive at a uniform policy to prepare the cost of living indices in different parts of the country.

“ I may be permitted to comment upon one other aspect of the system of compilation. In the working class cost of living index there is only one item apart from ragi for cereals, viz., rice. And the price quoted is what the workers pay for their rice at the ration

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shops. While arriving at or the price index for cereals, the compiler should take into account that besides rice, the workman buys wheat and milo also. But I find in the calculation, no weightage has been given for wheat and milo. Another feature of vital importance has been left out. Even after de-control the price which the workman pays for rice at the fair-price shop is alone taken as the basis for calculation of the index for cereals. This is wholly wrong. The price that the workman pays for the extra rice he buys in the open market is certainly high. That factor should be taken into account in arriving at a correct figure of the rise in the working class cost of living index.

"All these discrepancies, inaccuracies and irregularities go to show that the methods followed in compiling the working class cost of living index are grossly unfair. The cost of living index obtaining in Madras City should not be taken as the basis for calculating the dearness allowance payable at other centres. I plead that a new procedure based on social justice and honesty be evolved for compiling the working class cost of living indices, so that the Government ceases to be a diabolical accomplice of employers in defrauding poor industrial workers of what is legitimately and legally due to them under awards of industrial tribunals."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Chief Minister has got a peculiar way of dealing with the Opposition. To him whatever the Opposition says is born out of malice. The Opposition has always got certain motives behind what it says. This is the basis on which the Hon. Chief Minister has been talking both inside this Legislature and outside this House. It is on that basis he has been treating us, the members of the Opposition, even on small matters.

"The other day, if I remember correctly, it was the day before yesterday, the Hon. Chief Minister was addressing a public meeting in Madras wherein he had told the people that the Opposition was for the overthrow of the Congress Ministry and was interested in seeing that the prices of rice and other food-stuffs are increased. Does not the Hon. the Chief Minister believe that these are serious charges? Let me tell him that we are above parties. We are not interested in seeing that the Congress Ministry is ousted from office and ourselves moving from the Opposition Benches to the Treasury Benches. Let me be specific about it.

"The same issue of the '*Indian Express*' which has reported the speech of the Hon. Chief Minister also carries a page in which the prices of foodstuffs in different parts of our State have been given. The price of paddy in Tanjore district which is called the 'granary of South India' has recorded a deep rise. Not only in Tanjore but in several parts of South India, namely, Sirkali, Kovilpatti, Pollachi, Tiruchirappalli, Karur and Tenali and in ever so many places, the price of paddy has recorded a steep increase. Well, I would like to know whether the Government have not received reports from several other places also that prices have

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been rising ever since de-control. I do not want anybody to go away with the impression that we are against de-control. On the other hand, let the Chief Minister come openly and say, 'Look here, this is the position today. I find de-control is not a success'. But let not the Hon. Chief Minister throw the allegations against us.

"On the other hand, I would like to say that we on this side of the House are for the removal of the sort of vexatious controls which have been in existence during the last five years. But, at the same time, let it be remembered that we entrust the Government with a certain amount of responsibility—the responsibility to see that prices do not rise in the country and people are not made to suffer. The Hon. Chief Minister and even the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, have been promising often and often that prices will come down. I would like to know whether the editor of the '*Indian Express*', Mr. Ramnath Goenka, is siding the Opposition when he says that prices of foodstuffs have gone up in several parts of our State ever since de-control was introduced. Why is it that the Chief Minister refuses to face these facts? When these facts are brought to the notice of the Government and we on this side of the Opposition clearly expose these solid and unassailable facts and ask the Government to see to it that prices of foodstuffs are not allowed to rise and take effective measures to check the rise in prices, can it be said that we, the Opposition, are saying something out of malice? Can it be said that we are telling stories? I entirely fail to understand the meaning of the term 'malice'.

"Often the Hon. Chief Minister talks of co-operation, while the entire administration is run to-day on lines wherein co-operation from the people is well-nigh impossible. The people of this country are being treated as though they are 'husk and worm'. Co-operation is possible in a democratic form of administration. But, what is it that we are having here? The bureaucratic form of Government handed over by the Britishers is still continuing to function here. A bureaucratic system which treats the common man, the man in the street, as 'husk and worm' is functioning here. We should democratise the whole administration. Then only co-operation will be possible in the State. The sort of co-operation that is expected from us is nothing but asking us simply to obey. I think, what the Government means by the term 'co-operation' in plain language is: 'We have come to power. We are the people's representatives. We have formulated certain policies. We expect that you would obey.' The only meaning that the Hon. Chief Minister attaches to the word 'co-operation' is 'obedience'. We on this side of the House, of course, do not subscribe to that definition of the term 'co-operation' which the Hon. Chief Minister has been pleased to give to it. The fundamental, basic and elementary principle of co-operation is that people should be taken into confidence. It should be the people who should be the final judges on any issue. Is such a thing happening here?

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“ It has been rumoured (in fact some press reports have been published) that Pandit Nehru has written to our Chief Minister about the food prices. We, the members of this House, would very much like to know what the Prime Minister has written? Why can't the Hon. Chief Minister take the people into his confidence and discuss it with them? Instead of that, the only people whom the Hon. Chief Minister has thought fit to confer with are the mirasdars. The mirasdars are those landlords who will say that prices are bound to fall. Are they the people who are fit to be consulted on this issue? The mirasdars are not the people who actually cultivate the lands; in fact, they are the people who extract rents for their lands from the poor ryots. They do not know anything about the technique of production. Some of them, as a matter of fact, do not know what cultivation is. These are the kind of people whom the Hon. Chief Minister is very fond of.

“ Even at the risk of being criticised by those people who are the saviours of Governmental finance, I do want to raise the question of Non-Gazetted Officers and the peons in the Government service. Their present salaries are intolerable. I do not want to enter into the details because I have no time at my disposal to discuss them threadbare. Every time when the question of enhancement of the salaries of these poor people in Government service is raised, the Finance Minister and the Chief Minister come and say: ‘ What can we do? We depend only upon inelastic sources of revenue. All the elastic sources of revenue have been taken away by the Central Government.’ But this sort of excuse is unpardonable. I ask the Hon. Chief Minister and other Hon. Ministers: ‘ Are you not the architects of this Constitution of yours? When you framed the Constitution on the model of the Government of India Act of 1935, were you not alert? Did you not realize that the Government of India Act of 1935 took away all the elastic sources of revenue to the Centre and allowed only inelastic sources of revenue to the Provinces? Did not the Government of India Act of 1935 allow only minor nation-building departments to the Provinces? When, as the very architects of this Constitution wherein the whole of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been incorporated, you have been a party to its framing, how can you offer this excuse now? Surely that sort of excuse cannot wash off your responsibility. If the Government are sincere, they should take the welfare of the people into account. But, are they sincere? Unfortunately, Sir, it is made to appear that the welfare of the people of this State will be in jeopardy if Mr. Rajagopalachari is not the Chief Minister. Has it come to that? Does the welfare of the entire people of this State depend so much on whether Mr. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister or somebody else is the Chief Minister? On the other hand, I submit that if the Government are really serious, if the Hon. Finance Minister is really serious, why not they join us in putting forward a demand to the Central Government and to Parliament to the effect that the Constitution should be so amended as to enable the State Government to take charge of more and more subjects which will give them greater powers to raise more money? So long as you

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are not prepared to do that, all these excuses cannot wash away your responsibilities. After all, this is a very simple test to find out whether in all the excuses you are giving to-day you are really serious and sincere about the welfare of the people. On the other hand, when you framed the Constitution, you had a specific purpose in your mind; you did not want the democratisation of this country. You did not want the people of the various States to run the administration properly and you did not want to give them greater powers for running the administration. You knew at that time that a highly centralised army was necessary to suppress the peasants and the workers during the uprisings that were bound to come as a result of your policy. If only that policy is changed, I am sure the peasants will be the upholders of the Constitution. But what is your present policy? Unfortunately your present policy is a policy designed to protect the interest of the landlords, and naturally there is terror in the minds of the peasantry. This Government to-day is interested in seeing that order is maintained. What is the result? There is a big police force to be maintained, and even that big force is found to be insufficient and a large centralised army is necessary to assist the police force. In order to maintain a centralised army, the Central Government has naturally to get all possible sources of revenue to itself and the State Governments have to be kept starved. This, therefore, is the basic structure of the Central Government. Yet, you want us to suggest to you ways and means to improve the lot of the people within the frame-work of this colonial structure. I call it advisedly a colonial structure, because it is precisely the sort of constitutional structure that has been handed to us by the British Government in the shape of the Government of India Act of 1935. This is the Constitution we are now asked to work.

“ Sir, the other day the Chief Minister made a statement that he would not brook corruption. We are all glad about it. He also told us that he is working as much as possible and that he is not sitting idle like a lazy man. Sir, nobody in this House charges him with laziness; we know he is full of energy and he is not at all lazy. At the same time, may I point out that, however energetic the Chief Minister may be and whatever may be the zeal with which he wants to tackle this problem of corruption, it is not enough if one man does it? He has not got a million eyes with which to see the cases of corruption that are now going on not in one department or in one office, but in hundreds of offices and departments throughout the State. How can one individual, whatever might be his capacity and his zeal, tackle this big problem of corruption? What is the remedy for it? The Hon. Chief Minister simply says: ‘ I am sending this case to the investigating department ’. We all know this investigating department has been in existence for the last four or five years and, if it has not been able to put down corruption during that period, what is the guarantee that it will be able to do so in the future? May I ask the Chief Minister a simple question? The Chief Minister has not been a Minister only to-day; he has been a Minister even in the Central Government and a Home Minister at that. How was it

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that during those years when he was Home Minister he was not able to put down corruption in the Central Government? Is it not a fact that the Government of India is to-day rotten with corruption in so many of its departments? Was he not interested as Home Minister of the Central Government in putting down corruption? Is it only now, as Chief Minister in Madras, that he is interested in putting down corruption? Well, he has been Home Minister in the Central Government and he is now the Chief Minister here; and yet, whatever may be the zeal with which he wants to tackle this big problem, I say that unless a terrific campaign is carried on throughout the country by picture and by radio, in colleges and schools and in workshops and everywhere, and unless the Government encourage such a campaign, no amount of talking about corruption will stop it and no amount of statements by the Chief Minister that he is going to put down corruption will stop it. After all, we all know corruption is there. During the War years, a number of Government officials have been occupying key posts. They had amassed a lot of property by taking bribes. I am not now talking of the Police officials, namely, the Police subordinate who is taking one anna or two annas or such paltry sums. I leave him out for the reason that the wages given to him by the Government are not the wages with which he can make both ends meet. I am not at all blaming him therefore for taking a few annas, especially when his pay is not sufficient for him. It is the higher officials I am referring to. It is they who are corrupt and it is with them that I am now concerned. As I said, hundreds of such officials have earned money and movable and immovable properties. In some cases they may not have done so in their own names, but in the names of others around them, because they are very clever. They might have purchased even jewels and other precious things and secreted them. All these things are there before us, and your investigating department will not be able to find them out. On the other hand, if only you get the co-operation of the people, if only they are asked to come forward before committees to be set up in every village, in every town and other localities, and if they are told, 'You can come and make your accusation, you can come and point out where such and such an official has got his property, or where he has secreted his property, or in whose names he has bought the property and also to whom he has given so much of jewels and where they are now', then I am sure people will come forward and give you all relevant information. Then you can set up courts where you can make examples of a few big people whom you have got to send to the gallows for having dealt with public money in this manner. Unless you are prepared to impose this capital punishment and unless you are going to set an example in the case of at least half a dozen of the big officials and send them to the gallows as being enemies of the people, corruption cannot be put down. It is such people that are your enemies, as well as the people's enemies; and, as long as these people are your friends, certainly, we on this side of the House are and will be your Enemy Number One. The people in the country know that these officials who are

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the very embodiments of corruption are our public enemies and whether Mr. Rajagopalachari accepts it or not, I am not interested. I say, that to-day if you are prepared to hang some of these officials after holding public enquiries, there will be some chance of corruption being put an end to in this State. Going to public meetings and talking about public morality, level of public morality being raised, and all that, is not going to be of any avail. As I said, it is not the ordinary people that are corrupt; it is not the subordinate official that is corrupt. You should look to higher quarters in that respect.

“ In this connection, I would like to tell you that very recently there was a Mission sent out from this country by the Government of India to China; I would request the Chief Minister to get into touch with the members of that Mission—most of whom obviously cannot be charged with communist tendencies—and find out from them how Mao-Tse-Tung started a campaign against members of the Communist Party, who unfortunately during his period had become corrupt, and how, when it was proved that they were corrupt, they were publicly hanged with a view to make the people understand that they were punished in that way for corruption. I would therefore like to know how the Chief Minister here is going to tackle this problem. From the speeches he has been recently making and from the way in which he has been treating the Opposition, I do not think he has got a democratic mind at all; I do not think he wants the co-operation of the people at all; nor does he really want to have a discussion of the subjects agitating the minds of the people. For example, on the food question, did he consult anybody as to how exactly the problem was to be tackled or how prices should be controlled? As a matter of fact, I thought that Sri Rajagopalachari would take an opportunity to take the House into his confidence and acquaint them with the various measures that were being proposed to be taken. Sir, unless he changes his present mentality, unless he changes his whole outlook, how can he expect co-operation from us? (Interruption by the Hon. Chief Minister.) He says that I used the same arguments the other day. May be; but I would like to point out that the other day he also made a point at a public meeting that the Congress Members did not approach him nowadays, but it was the Members of the Opposition that approached him, meaning thereby that the Opposition Members were approaching him for permits and the like, and that is how he wanted to mislead the public. (Interruption from the Hon. Chief Minister.) I am not saying it was your idea to mislead. What was the context in which it was said? It was stated that in the past, the Congress Members used to approach the Government for licences, permits, etc., but that unfortunately nowadays, after Mr. Rajagopalachari became the Chief Minister, it was the Members of the Opposition who approached the Government. In that context, naturally it would be misunderstood that we were approaching the Chief Minister or the Ministers of Government for certain obligations, such as licences, permits, etc. But let me submit that we on this side will never, never in our lives approach either this Government

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or any Government, except when we approach them with regard to questions affecting the public of the State. Therefore, Sir, the charge that Mr. Rajagopalachari now makes, viz., that we are approaching him is not correct and when we do approach the Members on the other side, it is only with a view to discuss the many questions affecting the public. If Mr. Rajagopalachari thinks otherwise, I say he is wrong; I say his mentality is anti-democratic; and it is our duty and our business to tell him to change his present mentality."

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, when we are on the Demand for Ministers' Salaries I am reminded of our previous discussion on the Vote of Confidence Motion before the House a few days ago. I am one of those who honestly and strongly felt that the Government could have taken this opportunity of a discussion on the Demand for Ministers' salaries to announce beforehand that they would treat the vote on the Demand as a vote of confidence in the Ministry also. Even if they did not announce it like that, it would have meant that. Anyway they could have avoided the Confidence Motion and taken the vote on this Demand as a vote of confidence. Some of us knew that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet thought that a straight vote of confidence was desirable. Though we thought that if the Ministers' Salaries Demand was passed, it amounted to a vote of confidence, they thought otherwise. Anyway we are to-day meeting under better circumstances, because so far as this discussion is concerned, there cannot be so much of heat brought in as much of it was already spent out in the course of the previous discussion. We are now happy that the Ministry has been assured of support and it could go on for some time, at least till the Opposition again challenges the Ministry's position, and continue to be in charge of the destinies of the people of this Province. Sir, as one interested in the welfare of this State, particularly in respect of a democratic running of the administration and the existence of a stable Ministry, I am happy that this Ministry has been given a vote of confidence, especially, in view of the doubts expressed by some Members of the Opposition and others outside that the Chief Minister, not being a Member of this House, should not be the Leader of the Cabinet. I am happy also that he has been enabled to get as far as possible the best team from this House. In choosing his team, he has even gone out of his party, and as one who has been interested in successfully running a non-party Government in Delhi for three or four years, he has been bold enough to include non-Congressmen also in his team. Considered in this light, I hope that what he has done will be a forerunner of many good things to come. I know that some hon. Members who have formed themselves into another group have recently expressed the feeling that the Cabinet should be made a composite Cabinet. I hope that suggestion would receive the careful consideration of Rajaji and certainly he is big enough to carry out even that idea. Any other Chief Minister would feel hesitant and shy to do any such thing; but, if Rajaji

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thinks it is a good thing, I am quite sure, he will do it. Everybody knows he is big enough to do it and nobody can accuse him of any motives or of adopting corrupt methods in doing such a thing. He would come to a decision on anything only if he felt that his decision would be in the larger interests of the people of the country. He is of that high frame of mind. I was therefore happy to read in the newspapers some ten days ago that one of the parties in this House expressed the feeling that it would be better for the Prime Minister to consider seriously the question of associating other parties in the House with the Government."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" On a point of order, Sir. 12-30
The hon. Member has been repeatedly referring to the Chief p.m.
Minister of this State as the ' Prime Minister ' which is the exclusive appellation used for the Prime Minister of India."

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I am rather an old-fashioned fellow. I have not forgotten the days when Rajaji was the Prime Minister of this State during 1937-39 and I was sitting opposite to him as the Leader of the Opposition for three years and I used to address him ' as the Prime Minister of Madras '. I am not able to get out of that habit. If I have done anything wrong or hurt the feelings of anyone—I will not ask the pardon of the hon. Member who is so enthusiastic about appellations—I would ask the pardon of the person whose feelings are hurt. (Interruption.) The Prime Minister of India is such a largehearted man that he will never think in the terms in which the hon. Member has chosen to think."

" Sir, I was referring to the formation of the Ministry and the inclusion of a non-party man in the Cabinet headed by Rajaji. Now he has convinced the Centre that he is in the right when he made this choice. It has so far been a success. I do hope that certain groups and Independents who would like to associate themselves with the administration will be given a chance to share the responsibility of the Government headed by Rajaji."

" The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi referred to the question of corruption. I am glad to say that ever since the new Government came into office, there is a general toning up of the administration. There is great cheer infused in the hearts of the people of this State and I do hope that corruption will be put down to a great extent as a result of the new Government taking up office. My hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi suggested the formation of committees in villages and towns to put down corruption. Sir, these committees will do nothing but inflict cruelty on the officials and will demoralise them. It will be impossible for any official—whether he is a clerk or a tahsildar—to do his work if he is to be asked to appear before a committee of this kind every morning and every evening. I am glad that the Hon. Chief Minister has issued a circular to all District Collectors to see that the welfare of each district is looked after properly and to take action *suo motu* wherever necessary. The Collector is the chief man to look after the interests of the people in each district. I know that some

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Collectors now feel very much emboldened to take any action which they consider is in the interests of the people. I should like to congratulate the Government on that order.

" Now I come to the Non-Gazetted Officers. My hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi pleaded for more emoluments to be given to the Non-Gazetted Officers. I have been also pleading for the last five years for more amenities to them. I am happy that as soon as the Rajaji Government came to power, they have been able to give something to them, in the shape of educational concessions to their children.

" Now I come to the question of salaries of Ministers. Their salaries are far too low. They should raise their salaries. They should not feel ashamed to do so. If you compare the salaries that the Ministers of the Union Government draw, you will see that our Ministers draw only half of what they draw. The salaries that are given to the Union Ministers should be given to our Ministers also. Then only our Ministers can be comfortable and do good work."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Why not the hon. Member ask for a reduction in the salaries of the Union Ministers? "

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" The salaries that are given to the Union Ministers are very fair and equitable. I feel the same salaries should be given here also.

" Some hon. Members wanted that Ministers should not travel. But, I want to entreat the Hon. Ministers to travel as frequently as possible. The Hon. Chief Minister, in view of his age and the heavy responsibilities of his office, may not be able to travel much but other Ministers should travel throughout our State and acquaint themselves with the famine conditions prevailing in some areas of our State. It is absolutely necessary for the Hon. Ministers to travel as frequently as possible.

" Sir, reference was made to the salary and establishment of the Governor. We must not think that we are in 1937 or 1938. We are in a Free India. In some small countries there is only one President and there is no Governor. But our country is so big that we have got a President for the whole of India and Governors for the various States. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the Governor's status should be such as to command our respect, and his position should not be assailed and the Government should not in any way lower his status.

" Sir, we have read reports in the Press that the Hon. Chief Minister and this Government have pressed their case for further financial assistance from the centre before the Finance Commission when they were in our City recently. Sir, it must be impressed on the Government of India that this State requires more money and I hope this Government will press their case before the Government of India for more allocation of money to this State."

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SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Cut Motion moved by the Opposition. I beg to state that the system of recruiting personnel to various services is still going on as in the old days when the British administration was in vogue. It was but necessary for that Government to import talented men, men with technical experience and pay more money to them. But when that system of administration has been put an end to and when our own system of administration is now in vogue, a revolutionary change must be brought about. There should be some change which should attract the attention of every Government servant. Look at the disparity in the scales of pay between the highest-paid and the lowest-paid officials. This is the cause for the great discontent that is now prevalent among the Government servants. Therefore, I suggest that this disparity between the highest-paid and the lowest-paid should be removed and there should be no occasion for any feeling that one man is drawing so much while a poor servant in the last cadre is drawing only a few rupees. This difference between the two is doing great havoc among the people. Therefore, I thought that in making provisions in the Budget, so far as the heads of departments are concerned, there would be a change in the scale of emoluments to be given to them. We do not find any change but it is only a continuation of the old order.

“ Then, I come to the question of salaries that are paid to teachers in secondary schools. A double-graduate is only paid Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 and even this scale of pay is not adopted uniformly in all district boards and municipalities. It is a very sorry spectacle that in spite of the great agitation carried on by the teachers of the secondary schools their salaries are very low. The Government have not increased their salaries. It is just and proper that their scales of pay should be increased. In this connexion, I request the Government to issue instructions to all the district boards and municipalities to adopt a uniform scale of pay, namely, the same scale of pay as that of the teachers in the schools run by the Government. At least that would go a long way to minimise the hardship of the teachers working in the various schools run by the local boards and municipalities in our State.

“ Now, Sir, I come to firka development. So far as the selection of firka development centres is concerned, it is most unfortunate and it is so bad that the object for which these centres were formed has been completely defeated. These centres are put in charge of certain officers who have not got the necessary knowledge and the technical experience necessary to improve the areas entrusted to their care. In this connexion, I must also say that it is necessary that a large amount should be set apart for the development of these firka areas. The only difficulty is that men with technical knowledge and experience have not been posted and their salaries have not been properly paid, with the result that these persons are not able to discharge their duties properly. They are also given a subordinate position and are made to work under District Collectors with the result that they are not free to use their

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discretion in developing the areas entrusted to them. Therefore, I propose that sufficient funds should be placed at the disposal of these officers so that the object with which the firka development scheme has been introduced may be achieved in a very short time.

“ Now, I want to draw attention to another important matter, namely, the administration of the Agency Tracts. There is a great agitation among the hill tribes that the Muttadari system should be abolished as it has been there for a long time and has been causing great havoc to the people of the Agency tracts. In this connexion, I must point out that Mr. Malayappan, the Special Officer who had been appointed to investigate into the conditions of these people, has also stressed in his report the necessity for the abolition of the Muttadari system. Sir, this system was introduced by the British administrators and it is high time that it was abolished because there are so many evils attendant on it. Also, there is the harassment by the police people. The police officials have been causing a great amount of havoc in the minds of the Agency people and this hinders the progress of the people there. Therefore, the muttadari system should be abolished immediately so that the Agency people may live as free people and enjoy the same rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the people living in the plains. I thank you, Sir.”

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P.m.

* SRI V. RAMA RAO :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Cut Motion moved by my hon. Friend Mr. P. Venkateswarlu. Let me first refer to the salary and other establishment charges of the Governor. More than Rs. 10 lakhs is allotted to the Governor. When we criticize the Government for having allotted such a huge sum, we are told, that the Government cannot help it as the Constitution has provided that it shall not be submitted to the vote of the House. It is said in our Constitution that we the members of the Legislative Assembly are allowed only to plead, to speak and so on, but not to vote on the Governor's salary and his establishment. This is a strange position. We are all people who have attained the age of 18, the age of majority and we are allowed to come here and sit and discuss things; but, we are not allowed to vote on certain items. In this respect, we are treated as minors and not as majors. Perhaps the framers of the Constitution feared that if this item was allowed to be placed before the Legislative Assembly for its approval, the Legislative Assembly might vote it down. Perhaps that is the reason why they have done so. Sir, I saw recently in the newspapers that His Excellency the Governor has given a large sum as donation for relief work in Rayalaseema. Any layman who looks at it will rejoice over this act. But, if anyone goes through the budget proposals and figures, he will be surprised to see that a sum of Rs. 25,000 is allotted to the Governor as grant to be utilized for such purposes of relief. It seems to be the purpose of the framers of the Constitution to treat the post as a sacred one, not by virtue of the institution itself but by virtue of the position of the Governor. Whatever it is, all this expenditure is incurred, not out of the Governor's pocket but at the cost of the poor taxpayer.

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“ Coming to the salaries of the Head of State, Ministers and Headquarters staff, it is common knowledge that the high-paid officers are drawing a salary of Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 a month, and in some cases even more than that. I shall content myself with one instance. The salary of the Chief Conservator of Forests is Rs. 2,700, whereas the lowest-paid member of his staff, the forest guard is paid only Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 as salary. The disparity in the salary between the two is more than 90 times. A similar one is the case of Revenue Board Member. The Member of the Board of Revenue is paid a salary of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500, whereas the Revenue Inspector is paid only Rs. 50 or Rs. 100. The disparity is 40 to 45 times the salary of the Revenue Inspector. We should remember that the Revenue Inspector is not a mere layman to be paid only Rs. 50 as salary. He has had a good education and has also been trained in the work he is engaged upon. Is a salary of Rs. 50 a decent one for such a person? Whereas his superior, the Member of the Board of Revenue, who has to depend for everything on the Revenue Inspector, is paid a salary of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500. I cannot understand, Sir, why there should be this disparity. My friends who have preceded me have drawn the attention of the House to the salaries prevailing in China and Russia and so I do not want to dwell on that here. I shall content myself with saying that this disparity is not in any way conducive to the smooth administration of the country. If I am to point this out to the Hon. Chief Minister, he will say, ‘ Do you want me to ask the Governor to live in a hut or a cottage, and do you want me to ask the Heads of the Departments to live in the streets?’ Sir, that is not what I want them to do. I do not want the Governor to live in a hut or a cottage; nor do I want the officers of the Government to live in streets or to lead an ascetic life. I only ask that their high salary may be cut down and with the sum so available the salary of the low-paid staff may be raised a little so that they may be able to lead a decent life. Take the case of the chaprasis whom we see in this House. I understand they are paid only daily wages, if I may say so. They are paid only one rupee and two annas a day and that too only on the days when the Assembly meets. Think of the condition of their family and children. While these chaprasis look smart in their livery, their wives and children will be clothed only in rags and will be struggling to have at least one full meal a day. Sir, I cannot understand why there should be an institution like the Governorship of a State at such a costly level.

“ The question then arises what change this reduction in the salary of the Governor will bring about? I think the Hon. Chief Minister will agree that it will immediately affect the purse of the Governor. On the other hand the menial staff in his establishment can be paid more salary than at present. They may be given a living wage and they may be enabled to live a better life. It is a good beginning for a better order of things in our society.

“ Coming now to the policy of the present Ministry I cannot accept the opinion of Mr. Muthiah Chettiyar that there has been a change for the good in the general tone of the administration

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after the present Ministry has assumed office. The remark of Mr. Muthiah Chettiyar is far from the truth. If the present Ministry follows the path trodden by the previous Ministry, I think, it will reach the same destination as the previous Ministry. There is not even one Andhra Minister of the previous Cabinet sitting in this House. All of them took a wrong path which was anti-people, anti-national and anti-progress. If the same path is taken by the present Ministry even though the bullocks are changed unless the track and the direction are changed, the cart will follow the same path and will reach the same destination. It will not improve matters."

* SRI M. S. MOGRAL :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Hon. Finance Minister on his cautious and well thought-out budget. We realise that the period ahead of us is one of diminishing revenue, which makes the responsibility of the Government all the greater. Due to the shrinkage of trade and industry, the sources of revenue for the Government will be very much curtailed. Among the proposals made to cover that deficit, I feel that the surcharge on land tax would retard the production of more food. I want to touch on that one point. I wish the Government do not kill directly or indirectly the goose that lays the golden eggs. Anyhow the new Government has started with a new vigour and with a revolutionary change in outlook which all the people of this State have welcomed with great enthusiasm. Perhaps no single factor in the affairs of the State has contributed so much for the general relief as the extraordinarily bold and wise step taken by the present Ministry in de-rationing foodgrains. The whole of the Indian Union is looking to us for guidance. It is left to the Madras State to give all of them a lead in several spheres of administration. So, it is the duty of every one of us, be he a legislator, a Member of the Executive, a common man, a rich man or poor man, a producer, a buyer or a seller—to see that we succeed in this great venture.

" Now, coming to the salary of the non-gazetted officers, the Government have to consider one point. The efficiency of the Services and the strength of Government depend upon the devotion of their services. Discontent is a negation of devotion. While all other sections of society shared the boom, the non-gazetted officers were sinking from misery to misery. Sir, all of us welcome the educational and medical concessions given to the children of the non-gazetted officers and a few others. But that is not enough; the disparity is wide between the salary of the gazetted officers and that of the non-gazetted officers. The Government will have to confer more benefits on the non-gazetted officers so that the gulf that exists between their standard of living and the standard of living of those in similar walks of life may be reduced.

" About the teachers who are working in the district board schools, I can only say that their fate is much worse than that of the non-gazetted officers. They are whole-time workers. Their scale of pay is ridiculously low for educated young men and of late their difficulties are all the more aggravated by the inordinate delay

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in the disbursement of their salary. In my district of South Kanara, some teachers were not paid their monthly salary for as long as three months. There seems to be a lack of co-ordination between Government and the district board, each trying to justify the stand it takes and in between them, it is the poor teacher who becomes the victim. Finally, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hear all hon. Members of this House bestowing praises on our Hon. Chief Minister for his intellectual calibre, moral courage, legal knowledge and administrative experience. Under such circumstances am I not within my bounds, Sir, if I request all people to co-operate with us so that he may carve out a glorious future for our State? "

* **SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH:**—“ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ఈ డిమాండును వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ కోర్కె తీర్మానమును బలపరుస్తున్నాను. దానికి ముఖ్య కారణము ఈ రాష్ట్ర ప్రధానామాత్యులు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణ విషయంలో అవలంబించుచున్న విధానమేనని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఆంధ్రులు తమకు రాష్ట్రము కావాలని దాదాపు నలుబది సంవత్సరములుగా ఆందోళన చేయుచున్నప్పటికి ఇంతవరకు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని సంపాదించ లేకపోయినారు. భారత రాజ్యాంగ వట్టాన్ని ఆమలులోనికి తీసుకొని వచ్చేటపుడు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేస్తారనే వార్త బయలుదేరినదికాని ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము ఏర్పాటు చేయబడలేదు. ఎన్నికల ముందు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని విడిగా ఏర్పరచవలసినదని కోర్కగా ఎన్నికలు జరిగేసేగాని వివిషయముచేయజాలమున్నారు. ఎన్నికలు జరిగాయి, ఎన్నికల ఫలితాలు ప్రకటించబడ్డాయి మీ విధానమేమని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వమువారిని అడుగగా, కొత్త ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడిన తరువాత చూడవచ్చునన్నారు. కొత్త ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడింది. బడ్జెటు సమావేశంకూడా జరుగుతోంది, అయినప్పటికి ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము ఏర్పాటుచేయబడలేదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులు ఆంధ్రులలో చాలా ఆసంతృప్తి కలుగజేస్తున్నవనే విషయంలో ఎంతమాత్రము సందేహంలేదని ఈ ప్రభుత్వము, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము గమనింపక పోవడము ఆంధ్రుల దురదృష్టమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము విషయమై వివిధ రాజకీయపక్షములు వివిధములైన అభిప్రాయములు ప్రకటిస్తున్నారు. అందులో కృషి లోక్ పార్టీ నాయకులలో ఒకరు కాంగ్రెస్ లో తెలుపుడు చేసిన వైఖరి చూపినట్లయితే కృషి లోక్ పార్టీ దానినే వీరుకూడా ప్రకటిస్తున్నారనుటలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. పూర్వం నైమిక్ కమిషన్ వారు వెలిబుచ్చిన అభిప్రాయమువంటి కృషి లోక్ పార్టీ నాయకులు వెంటనే ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము ఏర్పాటు చేసినట్లయితే కమ్యూనిస్టుల ప్రాబల్యం హెచ్చుగా ఉంటుంటుంది, అందుచేత ఇప్పుడు ఏర్పాటు చేయవద్దని శలవిచ్చారు. ఇదివరకు నైమిక్ కమిషన్ వారుకూడా ఇటువంటి విధంగానే తమ అభిప్రాయాన్ని వెలిబుచ్చారు. అనాడు కాంగ్రెసుసంస్థ బ్రిటిషు గవర్నమెంటువారితో పోరాటము సాగిస్తూ ఉండేది. ఆంధ్రలో కాంగ్రెసువారి ప్రాబల్యం హెచ్చుగా ఉంటూ ఉండేది. ఆ పరిస్థితులలో ప్రత్యేక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేసినట్లయితే ఆంధ్రదేశము కాంగ్రెసువారి ప్రాబల్యానికి లోబడే ఉంటుందనే కారణంచేత ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రము ఏర్పరచవద్దని వ్రాశారు. ఈనాడు కృషి లోక్ పార్టీ నాయకులు అవలంబిస్తున్న విధానంకూడా ఇదే విధంగా ఉన్నది. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణాన్ని ఈ విధంగా పార్టీ ప్రయోజనాలకై వెనుకకు నెట్టుమని సలహా యివ్వడం స్వార్థపరత్వంకాని వేరేమీ కాదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఆర్థికశాఖ మంత్రిగారు ఈ మధ్య శాసనసభలో ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రంవిషయమై మాట్లా 1 p.m. దుచు ఆంధ్రులు మద్రాసు కట్టణం తమది కాదని అంగీకరించినట్లయితే తమిళులు

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah] [15th July 1952]

ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణానికి అడ్డుతగలగని, ఇక రాయలసీమవారిని ఒప్పించి ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రాన్ని విస్తరించుకోవలసిన బాధ్యత ఆంధ్రులదేనని చెప్పినారు. ఈ విధమైన ప్రకటనలన్నీ రాయలసీమవాసులను ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి వ్యతిరేకులుగా చేయటకు చేసే ప్రయత్నాలుగా ఎంపవచ్చు. ఆంధ్రులు సర్కారువారు, రాయలసీమవారు, తమలో తమకున్న విభేదాలను తొలగించుకొనే నిమిత్తమే 1938 సంవత్సరంలో శ్రీధార్ పాట్లు చెనుకోన్నారు. సర్కారువారు, రాయలసీమవారు ఒక ఒప్పందానికి వచ్చిన తరువాత ఆంధ్రులలో వివేక ఆధిప్తయభేదాలున్నాయని గోరంతలు కొండంతలు చేయడము సమబుకాదు. ఈ విధమైన ప్రకటనలవల్ల మెలకలకవిగా ఆసంతృప్తి ఎక్కువ అవుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. 1937-39 వ సంవత్సరములలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు పరిధానిగా ఉన్నపుడు అప్పటి గవర్నరుగారు మద్రాస్ పట్టణము ఆంధ్రులకు, తమిళులకు సమిష్టి రాజధానిగా ఉండవచ్చునని అన్నారు. దానివల్ల తిరిగి ఆంధ్రులకు మద్రాస్ పట్టణము కొరకై పట్టుదల పెరిగినది. ఆంధ్రులు విదేశీవిధంగా రాష్ట్రాన్ని విస్తరించుకొన ప్రయత్నిస్తూఉంటే ఎవరో అధికారులు మద్రాస్ పట్టణము అశాంతిచూపుతూ ఉండడము సమస్య పరిష్కారాన్ని వెనుకకు నెట్టుకొనిఉండడము ఇంత కాలంగా జరుగుతూ ఉన్నది. అనాటి గవర్నరుగారు మద్రాస్ నగరాన్ని జాయింటు రాజధానిగా, తనను జాయింటు గవర్నరుగా ఉంచుకొనవచ్చునని అన్నారు. కాని అనాటి రాజ్యాధిపతి, ఎవరో తెలియదుకాని, మద్రాసునగరం ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రంలో ఏమాత్రం చేరినా రక్షపాతము జరుగుతుందని చెప్పినందువల్లనే ఆంధ్రులకు వచ్చే రాష్ట్రం కాస్తా జారిపోయింది. ఈ మద్రాస్ నగర సమస్య రాజకామీరుడు కాషం లో తయారైంది. అంతలో కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాలు రాజీనామాలు ఇచ్చాయి. ఆంధ్రులు తమ యావత్తులు తిరిగి స్వరాజ్యసారాటూనికి వినియోగించారు. ఆ యుద్ధకాలంలో గవర్నరుగా వున్న లార్డు ఎరిస్మిక్ గారు మద్రాస్ నగరం జాయింటు రాజధానిగా ఉండవచ్చునని అన్నారు. అంతేకాకుండా అద్యులైజర్ గా ఉండిన స్పృటిగారు 1941 వ సం॥ లో బెజవాడ వచ్చి అక్కడ మద్రాస్ పట్టణం ఒక ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రముగా ఉండవచ్చునని అన్నారు. ఈ విధంగా అధికారులు అనేక పర్యాయాలు మద్రాస్ పై ఆంధ్రులకు నిజమైన హక్కున్నదని చెబుతూ, మద్రాస్ నగర సమస్యను ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రానికి అడ్డం పెడుతూ వచ్చారు. యుద్ధము ముగిసింది. తిరిగి ఆంధ్రులు కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులను ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సమస్య గురించి అడిగినారు. స్వతంత్ర్యం వచ్చిన తరువాత రాష్ట్రము విస్తరించుకోవచ్చునని వారు సలహా ఇచ్చారు. స్వతంత్ర్యం సొంతిందివాము. సూతన రాజ్యాంగాన్ని రచించే సంవత్సరంలో రాష్ట్రముల జాబితాలో ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని కూడా చేర్చవలసినదని ఆంధ్రులు కోరారు. Draft Constitution లో ఆఖరిన పెద్దస్థాయి తయారుచేసే టక్కుడు వ్రాయవచ్చునని అప్పటి న్యాయశాఖామంత్రిలు అంబేద్కర్ గారు అన్నారు. కాని ఆ విధంగా చేర్చలేదు. రాజ్యాంగపట్టం అమలు జరుపుటకు ముందుగానే 1935 వ సం॥పు గవర్నరుమంత్రి అఫ్ ఇండియా పట్టం ప్రకారం ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటు చేయవచ్చునన్నారు. కాని ఆ విధంగాను జరగలేదు. 1948 వ సంవత్సరంలో జవహర్ లాల్ నెహ్రూగారు విశాఖపట్టం వచ్చినపుడు అప్పటి ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర కాంగ్రెస్ సంఘము అయినకు ఒక విజ్ఞప్తి చేసినది. దానిలో 'You should lose more time to appoint the special commission envisaged by the drafting committee . . . ' అని ఉంది. బహుశా అది 'you should not . . . ' అని ఉండవలసినదేమో ! కాని నెహ్రూగారు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయమై విమీచేయలేదు. తరువాత రాజ్యాంగపట్టసభ అధ్యక్షులు భాషా ప్రయోక్తరాష్ట్ర విభజన విషయమై ఒక రిపోర్టును ఇవ్వవలసినదని ఒక కమిటీ వేశారు. దానికి ధార్

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గారు ఆధ్యక్షులు. కాన్ స్టీట్యూయంట్ ఎసెంబ్లీ ఆధ్యక్షులు, ఈ కమిటీని నియమిస్తూ ఆ కమిటీ వి విషయమై రిపోర్టును అంధ్రజేయిలో అనే విషయం గురించి ఈ విధంగా అన్నారు—

'The President of the Constituent Assembly has accordingly been pleased to appoint the following Commission to examine and report on the formation of new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra and on the administrative, financial and other consequences of the creation of such new provinces.'

“తదనుగుణంగా ఆ కమిటీవారు ఈ విషయమై ఒక నివేదికను సమర్పించారు. దానిలో ఈ క్రిందివిధంగా మద్రాసు నగరాన్ని గురించి ఉన్నది—

'These claims are challenged and counter-challenged, but in our opinion this is a fruitless controversy. Historical arguments on both sides may have some basis in facts but they are somewhat remote and the controversy can only be decided on existing facts. And on these facts, the City of Madras cannot be taken exclusively either as a Telugu area or as a Tamil area and it can only be regarded as a multi-lingual and cosmopolitan city, though it may be a fact that Tamil is a majority language in the City and in the areas which surround it, and this majority is not accidental or temporary and can be traced back at least to 1881, the earliest year for which census figures are available. A city which contains so many associations of both the communities and of many other communities and which has assumed a cosmopolitan character in the course of several generations cannot be disposed of on mere linguistic considerations, in favour of one community, without causing grave dissatisfaction and injustice to the other.'

ఈ విధంగా వారు వి విషయమై తల్పకుండా విటో భాషా రాష్ట్ర విభజన ప్రశ్నను త్రోసివేయటం ప్రయత్నించారు.

“అంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర విభజన విషయమై ఇండియాలో సర్ బి. ఎక్. రావుగారు కూడా రాష్ట్రాన్ని మూడు రాష్ట్రాలుగా విభజించవలెనని సలహా ఇచ్చారు. ఆయనకు మద్రాసు నగరం, బొంబాయి నగరం వలె (కాంగ్రెస్ కమిటీలకు విశ్వాసుచేసి నట్లు) ప్రత్యేక రాష్ట్రంగాను, ఒకటి మద్రాసు నార్. రాష్ట్రమని, మరొకటి మద్రాసు సౌత్ రాష్ట్రమని ఏర్పరచవలెనన్నారు. కాని ఈ సలహా పాటించబడలేదు.

“తరువాత Three man's committee వారు ఈ విషయమై ఒక రిపోర్టును తయారుచేశారు. దానిలో

'In regard to Andhra, the same general principles should be applied which we have stated above. In some ways the demand for an Andhra Province has a larger measure of consent behind it than other similar demands. Yet there is controversy about certain areas as well as about the City of Madras. To a large extent what we have said about Bombay City applies to Madras City also, but there is a marked difference. Bombay City, because of its size and cosmopolitan and industrial character, can be made into a political entity; Madras City is smaller and is closely linked with provincial life and activities. We are of opinion, therefore, that if an Andhra Province is to be formed, its protagonists will have to abandon their claims to the City of Madras.' అని ఉన్నది.

మద్రాసుపై ఆంధ్రులు తమ హక్కులను వదలుకోవాలని ఉన్నదికాని, మద్రాసు నగరం తమిళులదని ఎక్కడను చెప్పబడలేదు. ఈ విషయమై పలువురు పలు అధి ప్రాయాలు ఇవ్వడం మొదలుపెట్టారు. ఈ మూర్తిప్రయంజాలో ఒకరైన పట్టాభి సీతారామయ్యగారు కూడా మద్రాసు నగరం గురించి రకరకాల అధిప్రాయాలు ప్రకటించారు. మద్రాసు నగరం ఆంధ్రులది కాదన్నారే కాని అది తమిళులదే అని ఎవరు అనలేదని వారు నిర్వచించారు. ఇటువంటి ప్రకటనలవల్ల తిరిగి మద్రాసు సమస్య సెకికేబడింది. సందిగ్ధంగా రిపోర్టులు తయారుచేయడంతోనే కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులు సంతృప్తి పొందారు కాని ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారానికి మృదయపూర్వకంగా ప్రయత్నించలేక. అంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సమస్యను పరిష్కరించాలంటే మార్గమిదికాదు. కర్ర

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விடுகிறது, அது வாங்குகிறது. இவ்வாறு அந்த ராஜ்ய சா
ர்ப்பு கமிட்டியை, சர்க்கார் ராஜ்ய சா
ர்ப்பு கமிட்டியை jurisdiction o
வகையாக சீர்திருத்தம் செய்ய இயலாது என்பதை உணர்ந்து
கொள்ள வேண்டும். இவ்வாறு அந்த ராஜ்ய சா
ர்ப்பு கமிட்டியை சீர்திருத்தம் செய்ய இயலாது என்பதை உணர்ந்து
கொள்ள வேண்டும். “They must be prepared to accept the new position willingly if not
cheerfully, as a matter of discipline,” అని వ్రాసారు. అదే విధంగా
విசேష రకంగా తന്നా சீர்திருத்தம் சா
ர்ப்பு கமிட்டியை சீர்திருத்தம் செய்ய இயலாது என்பதை உணர்ந்து
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கொள்ள வேண்டும்.”

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, அமைச்சர்
களுக்குக் கேட்கும் மான்யத்தை ஆதரித்து பேசும்போது கனம் முதல்
அமைச்சர் அவர்களுடைய கவனத்திற்கு சில விஷயங்களைக் கொண்டு வர
பிரியப்படுகிறேன். சென்ற வருஷத்திய அதாவது 1951-52-ம் வருஷத்து
பட்ஜெட்டில் மந்திரிகளின் சம்பளத்திற்கு என்று ஐந்து லட்சம் ரூபாய்
ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த வருஷம் ஏழு லட்சம் ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்
கிறது. அதையும் சந்தோஷமாக வரவேற்கிறேன். இந்த இரண்டு லட்சம்
ரூபாய் அதிகமாக இருந்தாலும் அதைப்பற்றி பரவா யில்லை. இந்த
இரண்டு லட்சம் ரூபாய் அதிகமாக ஒதுக்கி விட்டார்கள் என்பதற்
காகவும் நான் மனஸ்தாபப்படவில்லை. நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்த
மாகாணத்திற்கு முதல் அமைச்சராக வந்து விட்டதால் எனக்கு ஒரு
பெரிய சந்தோஷம் எந்த அளவில் ஏற்பட்டது என்றால், முன்னால்
இருந்த கனம் சி. பி. ராமசாமி ரெட்டியார் இருந்த காலத்தில் அவரு
டைய அரசாங்கம் ஓரளவு மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துடன் சண்டை போட்டது.
அதன் பின்னால் வந்த அரசாங்கம் சண்டை போடுவதற்கு முடியாமல்
இருந்ததால் நாங்கள் எப்போதும் குறை கூறிக் கொண்டே வந்தோம்.
ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இம் மாகாணத்தின் முதல் அமைச்சராக வருவதற்கு
முன்னால் மத்திய அரசாங்கம் மாகாண அரசாங்கத்தின் நிர்வாகத்தில்
எப்பொழுதும் தலையிட்டுக் கொண்டிருந்தது. நமக்கு நியாயமாகக் கிடைக்க
வேண்டிய கடன் வசதி கூட கிடைப்பது இல்லை. நியாயமான முறைக்கு
கூட கோட்டா கிடைப்பதில்லை. பம்பாயில் நூல் கன்ட்ரோலில் யாரோ
ஒருவர் உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டு மாகாண நிலைமை தெரியாமல் நூலைக்
கண்ட்ரோல் செய்து கொண்டிருந்தார். அதற்கு நம்முடைய அரசாங்கத்
தின் முதல் அமைச்சர் (protest) பண்ணாமல் அதைத் தடுக்க
காமல், அவர்கள் தப்பு செய்கிறார்கள் என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டாமல்
இருந்து கொண்டு வந்ததால் சென்ற மந்திரி சபை மக்களிடத்தில்
unpopular ஆகப் போனதற்குக் காரணமாக இருந்தது. ஆனால் மந்திரிய
அரசாங்கம் நல்ல காரியங்களையும் செய்து வந்தது. ஆனால் மந்திரிய
அரசாங்கம் தலையிட்டதனால் மாகாண அரசாங்கங்கள் எல்லாம் அதி
லும் குறிப்பாக சென்னை அரசாங்கம் ஜனங்களிடத்தில் செல்வாக்கு அற்றுப்
போகும்படியான சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. அதிர்ஷ்ட வசமாக இப்பொழுது
கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நமது மாகாணத்தின் முதல் அமைச்சராக
வந்திருக்கிறார். உடனே அவரிடத்தில் ஒரு பெரிய நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படுகிறது.
இப்பொழுது மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தினிடம், பிற மாகாணங்கள், அதிலும்
முக்கியமாக பம்பாய் மாகாணம், வங்காள மாகாணம், இன்னும் பல
வெளி மாகாணங்கள் நம்மவரிடம் அதிகமான செலக்யூஷன்களையும் சலுகைகளையும்
வாங்கிக்கொண்டு போயிருக்கின்றன. இனிமேல் நமது ராஜாஜி
அவர்கள் அவர்களைவிட அதிகமாக சண்டை போட்டுச் சென்னை மாகாணத்
திற்கு இன்னும் அதிகமான சலுகைகளை வாங்கி வருவார் என்ற
நம்பிக்கை எனக்கு உண்டு. அந்த நம்பிக்கைக்குத் தகுந்தபடி சென்ற
இரண்டு வருஷங்களாக இந்த ரேஷன் எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று அகில

15th July 1952]

[Sri K. T. Kosalram]

இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டி கனம் முன்ஷீ அவர்களையும் பிரதம மந்திரி ஜவஹர்லால் அவர்களையும் நாங்கள் கேட்டும் அவர்கள் எடுக்க மாட்டேன் என்று கண்டிப்பாக சொல்லி விட்டார்கள். நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் மானத்தை காப்பாற்றியது எனக்கு மிகுந்த சந்தோஷத்தை அளிக்கிறது. இதையும் நான் வரவேற்கிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் மந்திரிகளின் கொள்கைகள் என்ன என்பதைப் பற்றி முதல் அமைச்சர் தெளிவாக எடுத்துச் சொன்னால் அதை விட நன்றாக இருக்கும். நேற்று கனம் நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ ரெங்கா ரெட்டி அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள், ஒரு திட்டத்தை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று மக்கள் பணம் கொடுத்து உதவி செய்ய வந்தால்—இப்பொழுது கிரியார் திட்டம் இருக்கிறது, 50 லட்சம் ரூபாய் பணம் கொடுக்கிறேன் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதில் ஏதாவது செய்ய முன் வருவீர்களா என்று கேட்டதற்கு அவர் பதில் சொல்லவே இல்லை. நாட்டிற்கு நன்மை செய்ய வரவேண்டும் என்று ராஜாஜி வந்திருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது irrigation சம்பந்தமாக முக்கியமாக investigate செய்த திட்டங்களை நிறுத்தி விட்டார்கள். எங்கே மக்கள் கடன் கொடுக்க முன் வருகிறார்களோ அங்கே அந்த திட்டங்களை எடுத்து அதற்கு priority கொடுத்து அதை நிறைவேற்றி வைக்க முன் வரவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது ஒரு கோடியை இருபத்தி எட்டு லட்சம் ரூபாய் கடன் கொடுத்தும் அந்த திட்டத்தை நிறுத்தி விட்டார்கள். மக்கள் பணம் கொடுக்கிறோம். அந்த திட்டங்களை எடுத்து நிறைவேற்ற வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகின்ற திட்டங்களை எடுத்து நடத்தினால் தான் மக்களும் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினர்களும் பணம் கொடுக்க முன் வருவார்கள். இதை மட்டும் நங்கள் சொல்லி விட்டால் பொது மக்கள் லட்சக்கணக்கான கோடிக்கணக்கான பணத்தைக் கொடுப்பார்கள் என்பதை நான் இங்கு தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மந்திரிகள் ஜில்லாக்களில் சுற்றுப் பிரயாணம் செய்யும் போது அவர்களுக்கு ஒன்று சொல்லி வைக்க வேண்டும். அவர்கள் எந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டை, எந்த போர்ட்போலியோவை, வைத்துக் கொண்டு இருக்கிறார்களோ அந்த போர்ட்போலியோ சம்பந்தமாக நன்றாக study பண்ணிக் கொண்டு அந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டு சம்பந்தமாக அந்த ஜில்லாவில் என்ன நடக்கவேண்டும், என்னென்ன குறைகள் இருக்கின்றன; எந்தக் காரியங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டும், எந்த நீர்பாசன வசதி செய்துகொடுக்க வேண்டும் என்பதை யெல்லாம் தெரிந்து கொண்ட பின் தான் அந்த ஜில்லாவிற்கு அந்த மந்திரி போக வேண்டும். அவைகளைத் தெரிந்து கொள்ளாமல் அந்த ஜில்லாவிற்குப் போகவே கூடாது என்பதை நான் நிச்சயமாகச் சொல்லுவேன். ஏனென்றால் ஒன்றும் தெரியாமல் அவர்கள் அங்கே சென்றால் நமக்குக் கெட்ட பெயர் தான் வருகிறது. அந்த கெட்ட பெயரை நமக்கு வாங்கிக் கொடுக்க வேண்டாம். சென்ற மந்திரி சபையின் அனுபவத்தைத் தான் நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். யார் எதைக்கேட்டாலும் அதைச் சொல்லுவதற்கு அவர்கள் தயாராக இருக்க வேண்டும். இதை ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் மந்திரிகளுக்குச் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று அவரை நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“மற்றொன்று, மத்திய அரசாங்கம் மாகாண அரசாங்கத்தின் நிர்வாகத்தில் தலையிடுகிறது என்பதை ஒப்புக் கொள்ள வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது நண்பர் ராஜாராம் அவர்கள் ஒரு பார்லிமெண்டரி செக்ரடரியாக இருக்கிறார். அவருக்கு எந்த அதிகாரம் இருக்கிறது என்பது தெரியவில்லை. அதிகாரம் இல்லாத ஒரு பார்லிமெண்டரி செக்ரடரி எதற்கு? அவரை டில்லிக்கு அனுப்பி அங்கிருந்து கொண்டு அவர் இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் வேலைகளை கவனித்து மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துடன் தொடர்பு வைத்துக் கொள்வதற்கு ஏதாவது செய்தால் பிரயோசனப்படும். இந்த பார்லிமெண்டரி செக்ரடரியை நியமிப்பதற்கு நிதி மந்திரிக்குத்தான் வேலை இருக்கிறதா? முதல் அமைச்சருக்கு வேலை இல்லையா? முதல் அமைச்சருக்கும் நிறைய வேலை இருக்கிறது. முதல் அமைச்சருக்கும்

[Sri K. T. Kosalam]

[15th July 1952]

ஒரு பார்லிமெண்டரி செக்ரடரி போட்டிருக்கலாம். இங்கிருக்கிறவர்களில் யாராவது மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தினிடம் சென்று முயற்சி செய்து ஏதாவது ஒரு நல்ல காரியம் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று நண்பர் ராமமூர்த்தி அவர்கள் சொன்னார். அவ்விதம் செய்வார் என்று எங்களுக்கு ராஜாஜியின் பேரில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு இடமும் இருக்கிறது. அவர் இங்கு இருந்து கொண்டே செய்ய முடியும். ஒரு மந்திரியை டில்லியில் வைத்து மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தில் நடக்க வேண்டிய காரியங்களை நடத்த வேண்டுமென்றாலும் எங்கள் முதல் அமைச்சர் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நடத்துவார் என்ற நம்பிக்கை எனக்கு இருக்கிறது. அதை நீங்கள் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்றும் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

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p.m.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக மெடிகல் காலேஜ்களிலும், professional காலேஜ்களிலும் அப்டிஷன் விஷயமாக சென்ற வருஷம் அரசியல் சட்டத்திற்கு முதல் அமைச்சர் ஹொம் மினிஸ்டராக இருந்துகொண்டு ஒரு திருத்தம் செய்தார்கள். இன்னும் பிற்போக்கினத்தவர்களுக்கு அதிக சலுகை காட்ட வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக நீங்கள் சென்ட்ரல் பார்லிமெண்டில் ஒரு திருத்தம் கொண்டு வந்தீர்கள். அது முதற்கொண்டு மெடிகல் காலேஜ்களிலும் இன்னும் மற்ற காலேஜ்களிலும் அப்டிஷன் நல்ல முறையிலும் நியாயமாகவும் என்ன சமூகத்தினருக்கும் நியாயம் கிடைக்கும் படிக்கும் நடந்து வருகிறது. இந்த முறையையே இன்னும் கையாள வேண்டும். அதை விட்டு விடக் கூடாது என்பதை ராஜாஜியின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். இந்தவிதமானிடம் தான் நியாயமாக இருக்கிறது, பொது ஜனங்களும் அதை ஆதரிக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் அதை அப்படியே பின்பற்ற வேண்டும் என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ மதுரையில் மெடிகல் காலேஜ் ஆரம்பிக்கப் போவதாக கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டார். அதை ஆரம்பிக்கும் முன்பு ஸ்டான்லி காலேஜ் கட்டம் கட்ட ஆரம்பிக்கும் முன் மதுரை மெடிகல் காலேஜில் மாணவர்களை சேர்த்துக் கொண்டு கட்டம் கட்டிவைவுடன் இங்கே அனுப்பிவைத்தார்கள். அம்மாதிரி மதுரையில் சேர்க்க வேண்டிய மாணவர்களை கட்டம் கட்டி முடிப்பதற்குள் ஸ்டான்லி காலேஜில் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டு 1954-ல் கட்டம் முடிந்தவுடன் அங்கே அவர்களை சேர்த்து விடலாம். அதற்குள் அவர்களுக்கும் அங்கே ப்ரெயினிங் முடிந்து விடும். மாணவர்களை தெருவில் நிற்க விடாமல் இந்த ஒரு நல்ல காரியத்தைச் செய்வார்கள் என்று நம்புகிறேன்.

“ கடைசியாக நண்பர்கள் பேசும்போது anti-democratic என்று சொன்னார்கள். கனம் நண்பர் ராமமூர்த்தி அதைப்பற்றிக் குறிப்பிட்டார். அதைப்பற்றி ராஜாஜியிடம் கேட்க வேண்டும். அவர் இங்கு தேற்று விட்டு வரவில்லை. கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள்தான் மக்களிடம் தோற்றுவிட்டு ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு விரோதமாக கவுன்சிலில் மெம்பராகவும் வந்திருக்கிறார். கனம் ஆதித்தன் அவர்கள்தான் நாயினேஷன் தாக்கல் பண்ண வேண்டும் என்று வாங்கி வந்தார். இப்பொழுது அவர்தான் கவுன்சிலில் உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டு தொந்தரவு செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார். ஆனால் அவர் மனதில் ஒன்றும் கிடையாது. இப்பொழுது கவுன்சிலுக்குச் செலவு செய்யப்படும் பணம் விரயம் செய்யப்படுகிறது. ஆகையால் இந்த கவுன்சிலை எடுத்து விடவேண்டும் என்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

*SRI P. VENKATESA SHOLAGAR :—“ கனம் உப சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, மந்திரி சபையின் சம்பளம் சம்பந்தமாகக் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் மான்யத்தை எதிர்க்கும் வகையில் சில வாரத்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். பெரிய அதிகாரிகளுடைய சம்பளத்தைக் குறைக்கவேண்டும். மந்திரிகளுக்குக் கிடைக்கும் ரூ. 1,500 சம்பளத்தை ரூ. 1,000 ஆக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

15th July 1952]

[Sri P. Venkatesa Sholagar]

“குறிப்பாக, இப்பொழுது மந்திரிகளின் தொகை அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. பத்து மந்திரிகள் இருந்த இடத்தில் இப்பொழுது 15 மந்திரிகள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அப்படி அதிகமான மந்திரிகள் இருப்பதால், சில மந்திரிகளுக்கு போதிய வேலையில்லாத நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே மந்திரிகளின் எண்ணிக்கையைக் குறைக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

“மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னருக்காக 7 லக்ஷம் 29 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் செலவிடப்படுகிறது. இது ரொம்பவும் மோசமான காரியம். அந்தத் தொகை அதிகம் என்று நான் நினைக்கின்றேன். இந்த தேசத்தில் நிர்வாகச் செலவுக்குப் பணம் இல்லை, நிர்வாகத்தை திட்டங்களுக்குப் பணம் இல்லை, கல்வி வசதிக்குப் பணம் இல்லை, உபாத்தியாயிகள் சம்பளத்திற்குப் பணம் இல்லை என்று எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் பணமில்லையென்று சொல்லப் படும்போது, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுக்கு மட்டும் இவ்வளவு பணம் கொடுப்பதற்கு நம்முடைய கஜானா அட்சைய பாத்திரமா என்று கேட்கின்றேன். ஆகையால், மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர் ஞாயை செலவைக் குறைக்கவேண்டுமென்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம்.

“இந்த சர்க்கார் நிர்வாகத்தில் வேலை செய்யும் ப்யூன்களுக்கு சம்பளம் ரூ. 43 என்று இருக்கும்போது, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னருக்கு ஒரு வருஷத்தில் 17 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய் வைத்திய வசதிக்காக ஒதுக்கப்படுகிறது. இப்பொழுது கொடுக்கப்படும் குறைந்த சம்பளத்தில் ப்யூன் போன்ற கீழ்த்தர சிப்பந்திகள் வாழ முடியாது. உணவு உற்பத்திக்கான திட்டங்களுக்கும், பசியினால் வாடும் ஜனங்களுக்கு நிவாரணம் அளிப்பதற்கும், நிர்வாக வசதி செய்து உணவு உற்பத்தியை பெருக்குவதற்கும் பணம் அவசியமாக இருக்கும்போது, பணத்தை வீணாக விரயமாக்காமல் தடுக்க வேண்டும்.

“அரசாங்கத்தில் ஒவ்வொரு இலாகாவுக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு காரியதரிசி இருக்கும்போது, ரெவின்யூ போர்டில் எதற்காக ஐ. லி. எஸ். ஆபீசர்கள் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று தெரியவில்லை. ஆகையால், நிச்சயமாக ரெவின்யூ போர்டை ஒழிக்கவேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால் அதிகமான பணம் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு மிச்சமாகும். அந்தப் பணத்தைக் கொண்டு மக்களுக்கு உதவிகரமான காரியங்களைச் செய்வதற்கு செலவழிக்கலாம். ஒவ்வொரு இலாகாவுக்கும் காரியதரிசிகள் இருக்கும்போது அவர்களுக்கு மேலாக ஐ. லி. எஸ். ஆபீசர் தேவையில்லை யென்பதை மறுபடியும் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஆகையால் இவ்விதமாகச் செய்து, மிச்சப்படும் பணத்தை கீழ்த்தர சிப்பந்திகளின் கஷ்ட நிவாரணத்திற்கு அளித்து, நாட்டின் ஆக்கவேலைகளுக்கு உபயோகிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“மேல் சபையை ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று ஸ்ரீமான் கே. டி. கோசல்ராம் அவர்கள் சொன்னதை நான் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன். அதற்காக செலவிடப்படும் 2 லக்ஷம் சொச்சம் ரூபாய் அனாவசியம் என்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். உடனடியாக ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். அப்படிச் செய்தால், அந்தப் பணத்தை நாட்டின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ளலாம் என்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம்.

“அதிகாரிகளின் லஞ்சத்தை ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கூறப்படுகிறது மாதிரமல்ல. கடந்த காலத்தில் மந்திரிகள் லஞ்சத்தைப்பற்றியும் அவர்கள் செய்த ஊழலைப்பற்றியும் இங்கு விவாதம் நடந்திருக்கிறது. இன்று மக்கள் எதிர்பார்ப்பது என்னவென்றால், ராஜாஜியால் லஞ்சத்தை ஒழித்து பரிகாரம் காணமுடியுமா? சர்க்காரால் பரிகாரம் தேடமுடியுமா என்பது தான். லஞ்சத்தை ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கூறும்போது, சிலர் ராஜாஜி மீது எங்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது, ஆகவே, அவர் லஞ்சத்தை ஒழித்து விடுவார் என்று கூறுகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா என்பது அல்ல கேள்வி. லஞ்சத்தை ஒழிப்பதற்கு என்னென்ன நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன, எப்படி எடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன என்பதைத் தான் இன்று மக்கள் எதிர்பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

[Sri P. Venkatesa Sholagar]

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கிறார்கள். ஆகையால், கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் லஞ்சத்தை ஒழிப்பதற்கு எவ்வளவுதூரம் கங்கணம் கட்டிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார் என்பது தான் முக்கியமாக கவனிக்கவேண்டிய விஷயமாகும்.

“இன்றையதினம் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலே பெரிய அடக்குமுறை நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதிகாரிகளுக்கு இருக்கின்ற அதிகாரத்தை துஷ்பிரயோகம் செய்கின்றார்கள். கனம் மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ நாகன்ன கௌட் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவுக்கு வந்திருந்தபோது ஸ்ரீமான் N. R. சாமியப்ப முதலியார் காரில் சுற்றுப் பிரயாணம் செய்தார் என்று சொன்னால், இது எந்த விதமான அபிப்பிராயத்தை மக்களிடம் உண்டுபண்ணியிருக்கிறது என்பதைச் சிந்திக்கவேண்டும். பெரிய மிராசுதார் ஒருவருடைய காரில் சுற்றுப்பிரயாணம் செய்வது என்றால், அங்கு இருக்கின்ற ஜில்லா அதிகாரிகள் மனதில் அது எந்தவிதமான அபிப்பிராயத்தை உண்டுபண்ணும் என்று யோசனை செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். மந்திரி அப்படிச் செய்வதால் தான் அந்த மிராசுதார்கள் எதையும் செய்வதற்கு தைரியமுள்ளவர்களாக ஆகிவிடுகின்றார்கள். இவ்வித காரியங்களினால்தான் அங்கிருக்கின்ற அதிகாரிகள் மிராசுதார்கள் பக்கம் சாதகமாக இருப்பதற்கு ஒரு சூழ்நிலை ஏற்படுகிறது.

“இன்றையதினம் அங்கு இருக்கின்ற போலீஸ்காரர்கள் மிராசுதார்கள் வீட்டிலேயே தங்கிக்கொண்டு, விவசாயிகளுடைய தகராறைத் தீர்த்துவைப்பதற்குப் பதிலாக, விவசாயிகளை அடித்து, உதைத்து, இம்சிக்கவும் செய்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு அங்கிருக்கும் மிராசுதார்கள் ஒத்தாசையாக இருக்கிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி மிராசுதார்களுக்கும் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் வித்தியாசம் ஏற்படும்போது, இத்தகைய மனப்பான்மை கொண்ட சர்க்காரால் எவ்விதம் சமரசம் செய்துவைக்கமுடியும்? எப்படி ஜனங்களுக்கு சர்க்காரின் மீதும், சர்க்கார் அதிகாரிகள் மீதும், நம்பிக்கை வரமுடியுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றோன். இந்த நிலைமை மாறவேண்டுமென்றால், சரியான நடவடிக்கை எடுத்து, லஞ்சம், ஊழல் மிகுந்த ஒரு மோசமான தன்மையை ஒழிப்பதற்கு ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

* MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the demand under discussion opens a very wide field for criticism of the administration. The sins of commission and omission of almost every section of the Government can be brought for discussion under this Demand. It is, however, not my intention to criticize this Government because I feel that it will be grossly unfair to do so, seeing that they have only recently taken up office and have not had sufficient time to study the respective portfolios and shape their policies. I also deprecate criticisms made by one of the hon. Members against the Hon. the Chief Minister on the question of eradication of corruption. Corruption is a thing which cannot be eradicated in a short time; it will take years to completely eradicate corruption. As far as I can see, the one method of eradicating corruption is for the people to refrain from giving bribes or buying in the black market and so on and so forth. Unless the people, who are accessories to the crime, co-operate with the Government, corruption is not going to be eradicated.

“ Sir, my main purpose in joining in this discussion is to make a very fervent appeal to our Chief Minister on the question of the need for effecting drastic retrenchment in the very heavy expenditure on the costly administrative machinery in this State. Let me not be understood that I am referring to the salary of the Governor

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in this connexion. I am sorry that some hon. Members have thought it fit to talk on that subject. Sir, he is the highest dignitary in the State and he must keep up his dignity. There is a saying: '*Noblesse oblige*' and as Governor of the State, he must maintain his dignity, and he must be given sufficient allowances for that purpose. When I talk of retrenchment, I am referring to the need for cutting down expenditure on establishment and contingencies, which is very heavy. I would suggest one or two ways of approaching this subject. One is to appoint a Committee of officials and non-officials who have had experience in Government offices, to go into the question of retrenchment and examine the possibility of cutting down expenditure on establishment and contingencies in every office of the Government where there is waste or where retrenchment can be effected without detriment to the efficiency and working of that office. The other one is for the Government to order straightaway a ten per cent cut in the expenditure of all departments on establishment charges and contingencies. I make this suggestion because I feel that this Government is far more responsive than its predecessors. Year after year I have made this suggestion but in vain. The previous Governments were adamant in this matter. Because I find the Hon. the Chief Minister has shown his readiness to listen to suggestions and, if possible, to give effect to them, I feel that he will hear me on this point and see what can be done. It is the bounden duty of the Government to see that there is no wastage in any of the departments. All Heads of Departments are trustees of the public because it is the public who pay the money to run the Administration, and it is the duty of the Heads of Departments to see that money is judiciously spent and not wasted. Any one who wastes public money is, in my opinion, committing a breach of trust. Therefore I request the Government to see that money is not wasted in Government Departments. I feel, Sir, that there is a good deal of wastage, particularly under 'Contingencies' in Government Departments. If an enquiry is made, considerable savings can be effected. This is my appeal to the Government and I hope that it will receive the consideration of the Government. With these remarks, I support the Demand under consideration, moved by the Hon. the Chief Minister."

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The House will now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Demand and to support and endorse the Cut Motion that has been tabled against this particular Demand. I have always maintained the theory and the fact that our regime is substantially and fundamentally bureaucratic and therefore any Demand made in support of that bureaucratic regime or bureaucratic administrative machinery should certainly be opposed. When I say that it is bureaucratic and therefore I seek to condemn it, I put my criticism under two heads, viz., one, that it is anti-democratic—

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in fact bureaucracy is the antithesis of democracy—and, two, that it is altogether irresponsible to public opinion or to the needs of the people.

“ Under the first head, I would like to level the charge that our Government is still substantially autocratic—if I may be pardoned the use of the expression—even plutocratic. We are not having the real needs of the people considered by this regime. In fact, the administrative machinery which has been handed down to us by the Britisher has been kept intact and spick and span and is being used precisely in the manner in which the British did use it. A most glaring illustration of my point that this Government is bureaucratic can be had from the Demand under discussion at the moment. For instance, we have the Governor's allowances and the allowances for the personal staff of the Governor. There is a large retinue for him; there are automobiles for him; there are saloons for him and there are various other luxuries and attendant circumstances to be met out of the public revenues of this poor State. When we remember that there is no money in this State—the Government spokesmen say so—for the poor, famishing, dying people of Rayalaseema, when we remember that there is no money to open more gruel centres for the people of Rayalaseema, when we remember that there is no money to give a living wage to the distressed weavers of Malabar, when we remember that there is really no money for us to give full employment for the people or to give them free education or to give them free medical aid by opening more hospitals and dispensaries and providing other facilities, and when we remember that there is no money for all these essential things, but there is still money to provide for the glamour and the magnificence and the grandeur—I would like to say Moghul grandeur—of the Governor, is it really in accord with the democratic set-up that we are supposed to be having or is it in conformity with the bureaucratic spirit that I say this Government is infected with? I respectfully wish to submit, Sir, that the entire complexion of the Government is illustrated by the substantial sum provided for the Governor's allowances and those of the personal staff of the Governor. This is the clearest illustration of my thesis that this Government is really for all kinds of opulence, all kinds of glamour, glamour-mongering and things like that whenever we are concerned with the topmost and not when we are concerned with the people. There is no money when the peoples' needs are concerned but with considerable care meticulous provision is made for limousines for the Governor! I am sorry that there is omission of the kennels and the stables of the Governor! Possibly that is a slight democratic change but, is it not ironical that in this country which is in the throes of famine, which is in the throes of unemployment and which is in the throes of acute distress all over, there is a demand made in such an audacious manner for allowances to the Governor, for his saloon, for his cars and for his large following or retinue? I therefore submit, Sir, that this Budget Demand under the head of 'Governor's Allowances' should be vetoed and the Cut Motion

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should be passed because it is anti-people, anti-democratic and completely bureaucratic. It has been said that 'When the poor have died Caesar hath wept' but, what do we find in this administration or this Government when the poor people of Rayalaseema, died. There are no tears and the eyes of those on the Treasury Benches are quite dry. They say, 'Provide for the cars and the saloon of the Governor. That is what we want but no wherewithal for the wants of the people.'

"Another criticism that I wish to make about this particular demand is that it is bureaucratic in a different respect too. Bureaucracy has always been depended upon as the proper machinery for an imperialist rule and we are not having an imperialistic rule but a plutocratic rule even after power has been transferred. When there is clamour for gruel centres, it is turned down for want of money. When there is clamour again for higher wages for the weavers it is also turned down for want of money. What is the reason for it? We have an administration which does not take note of popular demands and does not mix with the people. As I said, the administration is precisely what we had even when the British were ruling us. What we require is not a bureaucratic regime but a really decentralized and democratised administrative machinery. The present machinery is so cast-iron, hard and irresponsible to public opinion that nothing can reach the Ministers or the Secretaries at Madras although big calamities and catastrophies may take place in the far reaches of the villages which are supposed to be the real basis of this State. Now every little thing has got to be sanctioned at the top. This is what we have in this bureaucratic machinery and I strongly plead for an immediate re-shaping and remodelling of this machinery. If half a hundred weight of steel is required by a farmer living far away in Malabar, he has to make an application which has got to go from the Revenue Inspector to the Tahsildar and from the Tahsildar to the Collector—I do not know the chain or the hierarchy of officials—and finally the Civil Supplies Commissioner's intelligence alone can decide whether this farmer in far away Malabar in a remote village requires his $\frac{1}{2}$ swt. of steel or not. Is this not really bureaucratic? Do we not have the same thing in other departments? Suppose a culvert has got to be built in some panchayat area in Malabar. If it is more than a hundred rupees it has got to pass through so many offices and finally it is a Secretary to Government or the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras that sanctions it. I can quote innumerable such instances from every department. This over-centralization was very necessary and very suitable for the British and, perhaps, it is still necessary for this bureaucratic regime. The British wanted that everything should be done at the top because that was the only way of controlling the whole administration and this over-centralization was necessary but, to-day, if we are really democratic, if we are really republican, I respectfully ask this House to veto this Demand for the reason that we must have decentralization. With decentralization many of the things can be disposed

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of at the district level and not necessarily from the top. I would even say that some things could be disposed of finally even at the Taluk level. Sir, these are my submissions."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, we support the cut motion . . . నేను తెలుగులోనే చూట్టాడుతాను. ప్రస్తుతము ప్రభుత్వము నడిపిస్తున్న టువంటి పరిపాలనా విధానము (system of administration) ఈ సంపూర్ణమైన టువంటి మార్పు రావాలనే విషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తీసుకురావడమే మేము ఈ cut motion ను బలపరచడానికి ముఖ్యకారణమిస్తున్నాము. ప్రస్తుత పరిపాలనా విధానములో ఉన్న టువంటి ఇబ్బందుల గూర్చి అనేకమంది సభ్యులు అనేక సందర్భాలలో తెలియజేసినారు. నేను ఒక చిన్న విషయాన్ని మాత్రము సూచనగా తెలియజేయదలచుకొన్నాను. సాధారణంగా ప్రజలుగాని, సంస్థలుగాని, వ్యక్తులుగాని ఏదైనా సమస్యమీద ఒక దరఖాస్తు చేసుకొంటే, ఆ దరఖాస్తు విమోచి అనే సంగతి తెలుసుకోడానికి ఆరు మాసాలు కాదు ఆరు ఏళ్లు పట్టినా దాన్ని తెలుసుకొనే అవకాశము లేని పరిస్థితులు ప్రస్తుత పరిపాలనా పద్ధతిలో ఉన్నాయి. కనుక ఈ విధానము సంపూర్ణంగా మార్పు చెందాలి. ఒక చిన్న విషయములో కానన సభ్యులు వ్రాసిన టువంటి రిపోర్టులగురించి కూడా, వాటిని విచారించారో లేదో లేకపోలే, ఎక్కువ విచారణ చేసారని, అవి విమోచనాయన తెలుసుకోలేక పట్టి నిలిచి ఈనాడు పరిపాలనా విధానము సాగుతున్నది. కనుక ఈ విధానము వెంటనే సాఫల్యమంత త్వరలో మార్పుచెందవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. ఈ సందర్భంలో ఇటీవల జరిగిన ఒక చిన్న విషయాన్ని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఈ నెల 4 వ తేదిన ఒక విషయాన్ని ఆత్మవసరమైన భావించి ఒక short notice question గా ఇచ్చగా నది రోజులు అయిన తరువాత అనగా నిన్నటి దినము 14 వ తేదిన మంత్రిగారు దీనిని short notice question గా ఆంగీకరించడానికి ఇష్టపడలేదని జవాబు వచ్చింది. ఈ మాత్రము జవాబు రావడానికి పది రోజులు పట్టింది. ఆ short notice question లో ఉన్న విషయానికి జవాబు చెప్పడానికి పది రోజులు పట్టినా కొంత నయంగా ఉండేది. కాని దీనిని short notice question గా ఆంగీకరించడానికి ఏలులేదని మంత్రిగారు తెలుపడానికి పది రోజులు పట్టిందంటే ప్రస్తుత పరిపాలనా విధానము ఏ రీతిగా ఉండో అర్థమవుతున్నది. ఇది చాలా నికృష్టమైన పరిస్థితిలో ఉన్నదని నేను ప్రత్యేకంగా చెప్పవలసింది లేదు. అందువల్ల ఈ పరిపాలనా విధానము సరిపడాలంటే ప్రస్తుతము ఉన్న టువంటి red tapism వెంటనే పోవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. ఇప్పుడు పరిపాలనలో ఏ ఒక్క విషయము తెలుసుకోవాలో లేకపోతే సాధ్యముగా టువంటి పద్ధతులలో పరిపాలన సాగుతున్నది. ఈ విషయములలో ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క రిమాన్సులు ఏం మేము తెలుసుకోవలసినకాదు. ఏదైనా ఒక విషయములో తమ సలహాగాని, ఉద్దేశముగాని ప్రభుత్వానికి ఇస్తే, అది ప్రభుత్వము ఆంగీకరించిందా లేదా, అది మంజూరైతే, అది తెలుసుకోలేక టువంటి పద్ధతులలో పరిపాలన సాగుతున్నది. అందువల్ల నిజంగా ప్రజలయొక్క స్కోకరము, సుహృద్భావము పొందాలంటే, ఈ విధానములో సంపూర్ణమైన మార్పు రావాలి. ఏ ప్రభుత్వమైన ప్రజలు చెప్పకొనే టువంటి కష్టసుఖాలను గురించి విచారణ జరిపి ఆ విచారణ ఫలితాన్ని ఏదైనా త్వరలో ప్రజలు తెలుసుకోనే టువంటి అవకాశాన్నిచ్చే పరిస్థితులు గలిగినాడే ప్రభుత్వము మీదను, ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనమీదను ప్రజలకు ఒక విధమైన విశ్వాసముగాని, సుహృద్భావముగాని కలగడానికి అవకాశముంది. కాని అటువంటి పరిస్థితులు లేనపుడు మంత్రివర్గము ఎంత sincere గాను, ఎంత ఉత్సాహముతోను ప్రజలకు మేలుచేయవలె

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[Sri G. Latchanna]

నని ఎంత అభిమానముతోను పనిచేసినప్పటికీ, ప్రస్తుత పద్ధతులు మారనంతవరకు మంతులయొక్క ప్రయత్నాలు, ఆశయములు ఏ మాత్రము సఫలము కావు అని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను.

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“మరొకవిషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తీసుకురావలసిన కోరుచున్నాను. ఇరిగేషన్కు సంబంధించిన కొన్ని విషయములలో ఆహార ఉత్పత్తికి భంగమురాకుండా ఉండవలసిన ఆహార ఉత్పత్తిని గురించి వీలైనంత త్వరలో తీసుకోవలసిన, దీనికి ప్రస్తుత ప్రాధాన్యాన్ని ఇవ్వవలసిన చెప్పి కొన్ని లక్షలకొలది రూపాయలు వ్యయముచేస్తూ ప్రభుత్వము నమ పాలసీని నడిపిస్తున్నది. కాని ఆహారమును తృప్తిచేయ భూములకు, పంటలకు ప్రమాదమువాటిల్లు తున్నది; వెంటనే ఆ ప్రమాదాన్ని తొలగించేందుకు కావలసిన మరమ్మతులు చేయించండి అని ఇక్కడ ప్రభుత్వముతోను, అక్కడ జిల్లా కలెక్టరుతోను ఎంత చెప్పుకొన్నా గూడా ఏమీ జరుగకుండా ఉన్నది. శ్రీకాకుళం, విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాల్లో గత ఏడాది వరదలవల్ల చాలా పంట నష్టమైనందున ప్రజలు ఈ వరదల ప్రమాదమునుండి ముక్కు తొలగించండి, వరదలు రాకుండా నగన ఆనకట్టలు కట్టండి అని అక్కడ కలెక్టరుకు, ఇక్కడ మంత్రివర్యునికి, తరువాత లాల్బాగా ఆధికార్తకు, ఇరిగేషను డిపార్టుమెంటువారికి చెప్పుకొంటే ఈ పనులు తప్పకుండా చేస్తామని సహాధామివ్వడమే గాని నిజంగా పని ఏమైన సాగాలంటే, ఇది ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటు పనిగాదని, ఆ డిపార్టుమెంటుకు సంబంధించినదని, ఆ డిపార్టుమెంటును అడిగితే అది ఇంకో డిపార్టుమెంటుమీద వేయడము, రెవిన్యూ డిపార్టుమెంటును అడిగితే వారు ఇరిగేషన్ డిపార్టుమెంటు వారిమీద చెప్పడము, ఇరిగేషన్ డిపార్టుమెంటువారు Grow More Food Department వారిమీద చెప్పడము, Grow More Food వారు P.W.D. వారి మీద చెప్పడము ఈ మార్పిడి ఒకరివైన ఒకరు చెప్పుకొంటూ గత 2 ఏళ్లునుండి ఈనాటివరకు అతి గతిలేకుండా ఆ పంట భూములను వరదలనుండి కాపాడే చాధ్యతను ఎవరుచూడా వహించకుండాయున్నారు. నిజంగా ప్రజలకు ఇంతంతం దౌర్భాగ్యపరిస్థితి ఉన్నదా అని అనుకుచున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వము యొక్క ఈ వైఖరి మార్చినట్లుంటే నిజంగా ప్రభుత్వము ఆహార ఉత్పత్తికి భంగము కలుగ కూడదనే పాలిసీని కాగితముగా వ్రాసుకొన్నదా లేక నిజంగా మనస్సులో ఉంచుకొన్నదా అని ప్రతి ఒక్కరు శంకించక తప్పదు. కాని ఈ పాలిసీ వీరి మనస్సులో లేదనే ఋజువుగలదు. న్యూఢీసముచేసుకొన్నటువంటి ఎన్లెట్టలాని రైతుల వద్దనుంచి పాతి బకాయాలతో సంపూర్ణంగా వసూలుచేస్తామని, అతి ఇచ్చితరాలి అని నిర్బంధపరిస్తున్నటువంటి ఈ Revenue Department ఇరిగేషన్ మరమ్మతులు చేయటకు త్వర చూపుటలేదు. మరమ్మతులు చేయమని అడిగితే అది P.W.D. వారి పని మాకు సంబంధము లేదంటారు. క్రిందటిసారి వ్యవసాయశాఖా మంత్రిగారు మా జిల్లాకు వచ్చినపుడు Food Committee ని preside చేస్తూయంటే వారికి ఈ విషయాలు స్పష్టంగా తెలియజేశాను. ఇది నెల రోజులక్రింద జరిగిన విషయమే. ఈ ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీములగురించి Five-Years Plan అని చెప్పి ప్రతిసారి proposals, estimates తయారుచేస్తూయంటారు. కాని ఇవి నిజంగా తయారు అవడానికి ఎన్ని five years అవశ్యరాదా తెలియదు. ఈ ఏడాది గనుక irrigation repairs చేయకపోతే మేము ఇకముంద శిస్తులు ఎవ్వరు ఇవ్వము అని మంత్రిగారికి చెప్పాను. మాకు విరివిగా repairs కావాలి అని చెప్పాము. మంత్రిగారు మేము temporary arrangements చేస్తాము అని చెప్పారు. కాని ఏమీ చేయడంలేదు. శ్రీకాకుళం, విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాల్లో విత్తనాలువేస్తే ఆ మాడిపోయినాయి అనే వార్తలు ప్రభుత్వమునకు వచ్చినాయి. అటువంటి దౌర్భాగ్యపు పరిస్థితులలో ఇరిగేషన్ డిపార్టుమెంటు

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[15th July 1952]

నడుస్తున్నది. ఈ ఇరిగేషన్ కాలువల సంబంధించినటువంటి ఈ రాష్ట్ర కేంద్ర కార్యాలయాలు నాలుగు ఉన్నవి. నలుగురు చీఫ్ ఇంజనీర్లు ఇప్పుడు ఉన్నారు. ప్రభుత్వము 'మేము capital works చేయలేము' అన్నప్పుడు, ఈ నలుగురు చీఫ్ ఇంజనీర్లు ఎందుకు ఉంటారో వారి వ్యవస్థలను తెలియకున్నది. ఒక డిపార్టుమెంటుకు ఇంకొక డిపార్టుమెంటుకు సంబంధములేకుండా ఉంది. ఫలానా విషయములో దీని సంగతి ఇది, దీని పరిస్థితి ఇది, దీనిలో ఇబ్బంది ఉన్నది, లేదు అని వెళ్ళగలిగినటువంటి అధికారిగాని, డిపార్టుమెంటుగాని లేనపుడు ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటు ఉండవలసిన అవసరమేమో అర్థం కాకుండా ఉంది. ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటులకు ఖర్చు వెలుతున్న డబ్బు అంతా దండుగ అని waste of public money అని వెళ్ళవలసియున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క డబ్బు ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటులకు ఖర్చు వెలుతుట వద్ద పారవాలి.

“ఇంక రెవిన్యూ డిపార్టుమెంటు వ్యవహారము చూచినట్లయితే, ఈ ఎస్టేట్లకు సంబంధించిన విషయములో Revenue Department లో ఇనాముల వ్యవహారాలున్నాయి ఇదివరకు ఈ మదరాసు ప్రభుత్వము చేసినటువంటి Estate Abolition Act, Rent Reduction Act వైన ఇటీవల మదరాసు హైకోర్టు, సుప్రీం కోర్టు ఇచ్చినటువంటి జడ్జిమెంట్లతో ఈ చట్టాలు అడుగంటిపోయినాయని వెళ్ళవలసిన అవసరము లేదు.

“Estate Abolition Act క్రింద స్వాధీనపరచుకొన్న గ్రామాలలో సూటికి 60 గ్రామాలు, తిరిగి ఈ హైకోర్టు, సుప్రీం కోర్టు తీర్మానాలవల్ల రద్దు అయిపోయి దేశములో ఒక విశరీత మైనటువంటి criminal, civil litigation పెంచే అందుకు తగిన పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడబోతున్నాయని రెండవార్డు మేము ప్రభుత్వ వ్యప్తికి తీసుకొనవచ్చి మేమారేండ్లలు కుప్పిరించాము. దానినిగరించి ప్రభుత్వము తగినటువంటి చర్య తీసుకోవలసిన అవసరమున్నదని వెళ్ళుచున్నాను. ముఖ్యముగా ఈ ఇనాముల విషయము ఒక పెద్ద సమస్యగా పరిగణించబడుచున్నది. ఈ విషయములో రైతులు చాలా అందోళన చేస్తున్నారు. కనుక దీనికి తగిన సవరణ చేయాలంటే, ప్రస్తుతము ప్రభుత్వము చేయవలసిన పని ఒకటి ఉన్నది. సంపూర్ణమైన Land Reforms legislation వచ్చేలాగా ప్రభుత్వము వెంటనే ఖాఖామందులు ఖామిని దున్నేవానిని, రైతును ఖామి నుండి తొలగించబూడదని ఒక శాసనాన్ని తాత్కాలికంగా అమలుజరిపి ఈ ఖాసంస్కరణ విధానాన్ని సరిగా అమలు జరపడానికి ప్రభుత్వము ఒక కమిటీని వేయటం అవసరము. లేకన్న రైతులలో అందోళన ఎక్కువైపోతుంది. మన దేశమంతా వ్యవసాయక దేశము. ఈ వ్యవసాయక ప్రజల శాంతిని నిలబెట్టాలనే ఉద్దేశము ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉంటే, ఈ వ్యవసాయ సమస్యలన్నీ సాకల్బంగా సక్రిమంగా శాంతి యంతంగా పరిష్కరింపదలచుకొంటే వెంటనే వ్యవసాయదారులకు సంబంధించినంత వరకు వ్యవసాయ కూలీలకు కనీస వేతనాలు, అహరింబటలకు ధరలు నిర్ణయించి, Land Reforms వి శ్చతులలో అమలు జరపాలో అని ఎట్లు తయారుచేయాలో పరిశీలించు కుతుగాను ఒక Experte Committee ఏర్పాటుచేసి ఈలాగా ఖామాందులుగాని, ఇనాం ాల్లగాని, జమీందార్లుగాని లేక మరెవరు ఖామిని సాగుచేయిస్తున్నారో వారు ఖామి దున్నేవానిని, రైతును ఖామి నుండి తొలగించబూడదనే శాసనాన్ని అమలు జరపవలెను. లేకపోయినట్లయితే ఈ వ్యవసాయదారుల శాంతిని కాపాడేరు, దేశంలో అరాజకము తప్పదు, అరాజకవాదులకు తప్పకుండా అవకాశము కలిగించిన వారివైతారు. అందువల్లనే ప్రభుత్వము ఈ విషయములో ముఖ్యముగా శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొనవలసియున్నది.

[Sri G. Latchanna]

“తరువాత ఎస్టేట్లలో రెండవ crop కు water cess వేస్తున్నారు. ఇది చాలా అన్యాయంగా కన్సిడర్ చేయబడుతోంది. ఎక్కడైతే ఇగ్రికేషన్ చానెల్స్ ఉన్నవో, ఎక్కడైతే చెరువులకు, నదులకు దాగా చురుస్తున్నాయి జరిగి నీటి వనరులు కలుగజేయబడినవో అటు వంటిచోట్ల ఈ water cess వేయటం సరగాని, ఈ ఎస్టేట్లలో ఏలాటి సదుపాయాలు కలుగజేయక నదులకు చురుస్తున్నాయోచేయక నీటిదలవల్ల చానెల్లు వంటి చెరువులు మొదలగు వాటికి repairs చేయక water cess రెండవ crop కు వసూలుచేస్తామంటే ఎంత న్యాయంగా ఉంటుందో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. చానువడిన చెరువులలో నూతులు త్రవ్వకొని నీరు సప్లయ్ చేసుకొనేవారికేమీడా water cess వేయటం సరియైన పద్ధతి గాదు. ఈ పద్ధతి మూరాలి అని నేను మనవిచేయమన్నాను.

“ఈ cut motion ను బలపరుస్తూ విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* JANAB KUNHI MUHAMMED SHAFEE :—“ ബുദ്ധമതത്തിൽ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷരെ, ഈ ബുദ്ധൻ നിരൂപണങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പായിത്തന്നെ അങ്ങനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ചില പ്രത്യേക കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നത് അന്നാഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. ഈ നിയമസഭയിലല്ല, ഇതിന്മുമ്പത്തെ സഭയിൽ മുസ്ലീംങ്ങളായ 29 മെമ്പർമാർ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്ത് വന്ന ചില മതനഷ്ടങ്ങളെ തുടർന്നു നിയമത്തിൽ വരുത്തിയ ചില ഭേദഗതികളനുസരിച്ചു നടന്ന ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ മുസ്ലീം മെമ്പർമാരുടെ ഇന്നത്തെ സംഖ്യ കേവലം ഏഴായി ചുരുങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതു വളരെ പരിതാപകരമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ മുസ്ലീംങ്ങൾ മുതലായ ന്യൂനപക്ഷങ്ങളുടെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യത്തിന് സക്ഷ കക്ഷികളും അർഹതയുള്ളതായ പരിഗണന നൽകണം എന്നു എന്നിങ്ങനെ അപേക്ഷിക്കുവാനുണ്ട്. ഇവിടെ ഈ സഭയിൽ നടന്ന ചില പ്രസ്താവനകളിൽ ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റിനെ വളരെ പ്രകൃഷ്ടമായ നിലയിൽ നിരൂപണം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനോടുകൂടിയായിട്ടാണ്, ഈ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റു സാധൂകരിക്കുക ഗുണത്തിനും നാട്ടുകാരുടെ നന്മക്കും വേണ്ടി പ്രവർത്തിക്കും എന്നുള്ള പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ വിശ്വാസത്തോടും പ്രത്യേകത്തോടും കൂടി ഈ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റായി സഹകരിക്കുവാൻ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയ ഒരു കക്ഷിയാണ്. അതും—മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് കക്ഷി. നമ്മുടെ സ്റ്റേറ്റിൽ ഒരു നല്ല ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റു വേണം എന്നു ഓരോ നിയമസഭയോടുകൂടി ഒരു ഉറച്ച ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റു ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാനുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഫലപ്രദമായ സഹകരണങ്ങൾ നൽകുവാൻ ആങ്ങൾ നിശ്ചയിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഈ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റു തുടർന്നുപോകുകയാണെങ്കിൽ സാധൂകളായ ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങൾക്കു പല ഗുണങ്ങളും ചെയ്യുവാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നും ആങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞുകാലത്തെ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങൾക്കൊണ്ടു ചിലവെല്ലാം ഈ ഗവർണ്ണമെന്റു കാണിച്ചുതരികയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഭക്ഷണസാധനങ്ങളുടെ നിയന്ത്രണം എടുത്തുകൊള്ളുന്നതിനുള്ള ജനവിഭാഗത്തിനു

[Janab Kunhi Muhamed Shafee] [15th July 1952]

രാജാജി മന്ത്രിസഭ ഒരു ആശ്വാസം നൽകിട്ടുണ്ട്. സാധ്യമായ കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു കൃഷി അഭിവൃദ്ധി വരുത്തുവാനുള്ള ഉത്സാഹവും ആഗ്രഹവും വളരെ വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. അവർക്കു നിയന്ത്രണം പോയതോടുകൂടി വളരെ ആശ്വാസമുണ്ടാകുക മാത്രമല്ല നാടിനെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തുവാനുള്ള ചില സൗകര്യങ്ങൾ ലഭിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭ നിലനിൽക്കേണ്ടതു വളരെ ആവശ്യമാണ് എന്ന കാഴ്ചത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു ആർക്കും പങ്കാൽക്കാരമുണ്ടാകാൻ കാരണമില്ല. ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭയ്ക്കു പിൻതുണനല്കി ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഭക്ഷ്യലക്ഷ്യത്തിലേക്കു എന്തുവാൻ സഹായിക്കേണ്ടതു, ഒരു ഉറപ്പു ഗവണ്മെന്റുണ്ടാകണമെന്നും രാജ്യത്തിൽ സുഖവും ക്ഷേമവും വരുത്തണമെന്നും ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്ന ഏതരേടേയും കൺവ്യാമാണ്. മന്ത്രിമാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വളരെ വളരെ ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾ പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കാൻ പ്രയാസമില്ല. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾ പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈ സഭയിലേക്കു തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടവനിട്ടുള്ളതു എന്ത് ലക്ഷ്യം നോട്ടുകാരെ മുന്ദാകെ വെച്ചിട്ടാണ് എന്നുള്ളതു വിന്യസിക്കുന്നതായി കാണുന്നത് വ്യസനകരമാണ്. ഒരു ഉറപ്പു നല്ല ഗവണ്മെന്റു വേണമെന്നാണ് ഈ നിയമസഭയിലേക്കു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ജയിച്ചവർക്കു കാര്യം അംഗങ്ങളോടും അവരുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ നൽകിട്ടുള്ള വിധി (mandate). സോവിയറ്റ് ആടർപ്രകാരമുള്ള ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റു ഇവിടെ സ്ഥാപിക്കേണ്ട നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു ഈ സഭയിലേക്കു ആരും തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല എന്നുണ്ടു എന്റെ ബോധ്യം. മന്ത്രിമാരെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കുകയും അവരുടെ സർവ്വകലാശാല സംബന്ധിച്ചു രൂക്ഷമായി പ്രസ്താവിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ആളുകൾക്കു അവരുടെ ഇനത്തെ നേതാവായി മാത്രം ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ ഭരണം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കണമെന്നു ആ മന്ത്രിസഭയിലുണ്ടായിരുന്ന മലയാളി മന്ത്രിയുടെ സർവ്വകലാശാല പരാതിപോലും ഉന്നയിക്കാനുള്ള ധർമ്മവ്യവസ്ഥയുണ്ടോ എന്ന് ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. സാധാരണക്കാർക്കും ഇടത്തരക്കാർക്കും തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കും കൃഷിക്കാർക്കും ഗുണം ചെയ്യുവാനാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞ് മുസ്ലീം ജീവിത പരമി പറയുകയും സ്റ്റേറ്റ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കാൻ വിധിയുചെയ്ത ആക്ഷേപിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ഈ കൂട്ടർ, തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ നടന്ന സംഗതികൾ എന്താണെന്ന് വിസ്മയിച്ചുകയ്യുന്നു. നാദാപുരം ഫക്ടറിലെ ഒരു ഉദാഹരണമെടുക്കുക. അവിടെ സാധ്യമായും, കർഷകന്മാരും, തൊഴിലാളികളും, ചില്ലറ കച്ചവടക്കാരനായ മുസ്ലീംകൾ കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാട്ടി സമനാമിയിൽ എത്തിച്ചേരിട്ടു. ഇങ്ങനെയൊരു പരിശ്രമം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. കൂടാതെ അവരുടെ കാര്യത്തിലായിട്ടുള്ള നടത്തിയിരുന്നതു മലബാറിലെ ഒരു വൻകിട മുതലാളിയായിരുന്നു എന്ന സംഗതി മറച്ചുവെക്കാൻ കഴിയാത്ത ഒരു കാര്യമാണ്. ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ മറച്ചിട്ടു നാട്ടിൽ അവരുടെ സ്ഥാപനപദ്ധതികൾ നിലനിൽപ്പാൻ, നാട്ടിൽ കച്ചവടം ഉണ്ടാക്കി സാധ്യമായുള്ള ഇടയിൽ അസംതൃപ്തിയും സമാധാനക്ഷേമം ഉണ്ടാക്കുക എന്നുള്ള അവരുടെ സ്ഥാപനപദ്ധതികൾ നിലനിൽപ്പാൻ ഉത്സാഹിക്കുന്ന വിധത്തിൽ ഇവിടെ പല പ്രസ്താവനകളും എഴുതുന്നതിലാകാൻ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഗവണ്മെന്റുടെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേത്തോളം അവർ പല ആക്ഷേപങ്ങളും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഗവണ്മെന്റുടെ സ്ഥാനം ഒരു Institution ആണ്. അട്ടമുറത്തിന്റെ പദവികൾ അന്ത്യസ്തിനും അന്ത്യസ്തിയ്ക്കു ആ സ്ഥാനത്തെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടാക്കുന്നു. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ആ സ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നു വേർപെടേണ്ടവർക്കും സോവിയറ്റ് ആടർപ്രകാരം പരിവർത്തിപ്പോലാണു നല്കിയതെങ്കിലും അവർ എന്താണു ചെയ്യുന്നത്? ക്രൈംലിന്റിൽനിന്നു ഭരണ നടത്തുന്ന ജനറലസ്റ്റീമോ സ്റ്റാലിൻ ചില പദ്ധതികൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടില്ലേ? ഈ പദവികൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി കോർക്കുണ്ടായ റൂബിൾസ് (Rubles) അവിടെ ചിലവഴിക്കുന്നില്ലേ? കേവലം ഒരു ശിവാലിയെപ്പോലെയാണു ഒരു കൃഷിക്കാരനെപ്പോലെയോ ജീവിക്കാനുള്ള ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥയുണ്ടോ സ്റ്റാലിൻ നല്കിയതിൽ ഉള്ളതു എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഒരു ശിവാലിയെപ്പോലെ ജീവിക്കണം, എനിട്ടു ചിലവു ചുഴുകണം എന്നാണോ ഇവിടെ വിവക്ഷിക്കുന്നത്. ഇങ്ങനെയും ഉണ്ടാകാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല ഭരണം നടത്തണം എന്ന വിചാരമുള്ളവർക്കും ഇവർക്കു നിയമനിർമ്മാണം സാധ്യമല്ല. നമ്മുടെ ഗവണ്മെന്റുടെ പദവിയെ പരിവർത്തിപ്പോരുന്നതിനു മേൽയായ സംഖ്യകൾ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ വച്ചുവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിന്റെ പര്യായമാകാൻ ഞാൻ മേൽ ഉദ്ധരിച്ച സംഗതികൾ അവർ ചിന്തിക്കണം. സമാധാനത്തോടുകൂടി സാധ്യമായ കൃഷിക്കാർക്കും തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കും ചില്ലറ കച്ചവടക്കാർക്കും ഇടത്തരക്കാർക്കുമൊക്കെ സുഖമായും ക്ഷേമത്തോടുകൂടിയും ജീവിക്കുവാനുള്ള സൗകര്യവും സാഹചര്യങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. ഈ സാഹചര്യങ്ങൾ സൃഷ്ടിക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി നൂറു വർഷത്തോളം അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടതായി പെരുമാറി അവർക്കു ചില സൗകര്യങ്ങളും സൗജന്യ

3 p.m.

“கனம் அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர் இன்னொரு விஷயத்தைப் பற்றியும் குறிப்பிட்டார். அதாவது, இந்த வேலைகளைச் செய்து கொண்டுவருவதற்கென ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் கமிட்டியில் சரியான தகுதியுள்ள அங்கத்தினர்கள் இல்லையென்று குறிப்பிட்டார். ஜில்லா கலெக்டர் இந்தக் கமிட்டியின் தலைவராகவும், ரெவின்யூ டிவிஷனல் ஆபீஸர் உதவித் தலைவராகவும், ஜில்லா ரூரல் வெல்ஃபேர் ஆபீஸர் காரியதரிசியாகவும் இருக்கிறார்கள். சுட்டறவு முடிபு ரீஜிஸ்ட்ரார், எக்ஸிசுடப்ட் இன்ஜினீர், எலக்ட்ரிகல் அவரிஸ் டென்ட் இன்ஜினீர் (கன்ஸ்ட்ரக்ஷன்) இவர்களெல்லாம் இக்கமிட்டியின்

[Sri R. Krishnaswami Naidu] [15th July 1952]

அங்கத்தினர்கள். இன்னும் இப்படி ஒவ்வொரு துறையிலும் அங்கத்தினர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ரோடுகள் சம்பந்தமான வேலைகளைக் கவனிப்பதற்காக டிவிஷனல் இன்ஜினீர் (ஹவுவேஸ்) இருக்கிறார். மைனர் இரி கேஷன் குப்ராவைச் சும் கூட்டங்களுக்கு வருகிறார். மேற்சொன்ன உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களில் யாரைத் தகுதியற்றவர்களென்று சொல்லமுடியும்? இதோருகூட அந்தந்தப் பிராந்தியங்களிலிருக்கும் கிராம ஊழியர்களும் வருகிறார்கள், கிராம வேலைகளில் அக்கறை கொண்டுள்ள பிரமுகர்களும் அநேகம் பேர்கள் இக்கூட்டத்திற்கு வரக்கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். குறிப்பாக, கனம் அங்கத்தினரின் சகோதரர் ஒருவர் கூட அந்தக் கமிட்டியில் அங்கம் வகிக்கிறார். இதில் யார் இருக்கவேண்டும், யார் இருக்கக் கூடாது என்று சொல்ல முடியும்? ரோடு வேலைகளைச் செய்வதற்கு ஹைவேஸ் டிவிஷனல் இன்ஜினீரைத் தவிர வேறு யார் இருக்கமுடியும்? கிராமங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய மின்சார வசதி சம்பந்தமாக எலெக்ட்ரிகல் அலிஸ்டன்ட் இன்ஜினீரைத் தவிர வேறு யார் இருக்கமுடியும்? இதே மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு துறையிலும் யோசனை கூறுவதற்கு ஜில்லா அதிகாரிகள் இருக்கிறார்கள். விவசாயம் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட விஷயங்களைக் கவனிப்பதற்காக ஜில்லா விவசாய அதிகாரி வருகிறார். கல்வி சம்பந்தமாக ஜில்லா கல்வி அதிகாரி வருகிறார். தொழில் சம்பந்தமாக கவனிப்பதற்காக ஜில்லா இன்டஸ்ட்ரீஸ் ஆபீசர் வருகிறார். கிராம அபிவிருத்திக்கான காரியங்களைச் செய்வதற்கும் யோசனை கூறுவதற்கும் ஒவ்வொரு மாதமும் ஜில்லா ரூரல் வெல்பேர் ஆபீசர் அவர்களால் கூடப்படும் கூட்டங்களுக்கு மேற் சொன்ன அதிகாரிகளும், அதிகாரிகளல்லாத, உத்தியோகப் பற்றற்ற அங்கத்தினர்களும் வருகிறார்கள். இந்த கிராமாபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தை சரிவர அமல் நடத்துவதற்கு இத்தகைய அதிகாரிகளும் மற்றவர்களும் இம்மாதிரி கமிட்டிகளில் அங்கம் வகிக்கவேண்டியது மிக அவசியமாக இருக்கிறதென்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ள விரும்புகின்றேன். இவர்கள் தகுதியற்றவர்கள் என்று எப்படிச் சொல்வது?

“இராமநாதபுரம் போன்ற பிற்பட்ட நிலையில் இருக்கும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிற்கு இப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு திட்டம் மிக மிக அவசியமென்பதில் சிறிதும் சந்தேகமில்லை. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவின் அமைப்பும் ஒரு விசித்திரமானது. 1910-ம் வருஷம் வரையிலும் இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லா என்று ஒரு தனி ஜில்லாவே இருக்கவில்லை. ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர், சாத்தூர் ஆகிய இரண்டு தாலுகாக்கள் திருநெல்வேலி ஜில்லாவோடு சேர்ந்திருந்தன. இப்பொழுது இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் அடங்கிய மற்ற ஏழு தாலுகாக்களில் இரண்டு சிவகங்கை சமஸ்தானத்திலும், ஐந்து இராமநாதபுரம் சமஸ்தானத்திலும் இருந்தன. அவைகள் மதுரை ஜில்லாவோடு இணைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. 1910-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஜமீந்தாரி எரியாவிலிருந்த ஏழு தாலுகாக்களையும், திருநெல்வேலி ஜில்லாவிலிருந்த இரண்டு தாலுகாக்களையும் சேர்த்து இராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவாக ஆக்கப்பட்டது. இதை என்சூறுகிறேனென்றால், ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர், சாத்தூர் போன்ற அயன் தாலுகாக்கள் சர்க்காரின் நேரடியான நிர்வாகத்தில் இருந்ததைப்போல, ஜமீந்தாரிப் பிரதேசமாக இருந்த ஏழு தாலுகாக்கள் சர்க்காரின் நேரடியான தொடர்பு இல்லாமல் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருந்திருக்கின்றன என்பதற்காகத்தான். ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர், சாத்தூர் தாலுகாக்களிலும் ஜமீன் பிரதேசங்கள் உண்டு. ஆகையால், மொத்தமாகப்பார்த்தால் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவானது முன்னேற்ற மடையாமல் பலவகையிலும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருந்துவந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகையால்தான், பெரும்பாலும் ஜமீந்தாரிப் பிரதேசமாக இருந்த அந்த இடங்களில் இந்த கிராம அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டம் மிக மிக அவசியமானதாகும்.

“கம்யூனிடி பிராஜெக்ட் திட்டம் கூட எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிற்கு அவசியமென்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டும். கம்யூனிடி பிராஜெக்ட் திட்டத்திற்காகவுள்ள கமிஷனர்களும், அதிகாரிகளும் அடங்கிய கூட்டத்தில் பேசும் போது, “பல பல இடங்களைத் தேர்ந்தெடுப்பதைவிட பிற்போக்காகவுள்ள பிரதேசங்களையே இதற்கெனத் தேர்ந்தெடுப்பது நல்லது” என்று இந்தியப் பிரதம மந்திரி கனம் ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு அவர்கள் பேசியிருப்பதை

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கனம் முதன் மந்திரி அவர்களின் கவனத்திற்கு இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன். கம்யூனிடி பிராஜெக்ட் திட்டத்திற்கு ஒரு எரியாவைத் தேர்தெடுப்பதாக இருந்தால், பல துறைகளிலும் பிற்போக்காத உள்ள எங்கள் இராமனாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவில் முதலுத்தார் தாலுகா பகுதியை சிபார்சு செய்தால் மிகப் பொருத்தமாக இருக்குமென்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.

“ சில தினங்களுக்கு முன்னால், நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ ஆர். வி. சுவாமிநாதன் அவர்கள் பின்னடைந்துள்ள ஜில்லாவாகிய இராமனாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவுக்கு விசேஷ சலுகை காட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டபொழுது ‘இராமனாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவும் இந்த ராஜ்யத்திலுள்ள ஜில்லாக்களில் ஒன்றுதானே’ என்று சர்க்கார் தரப்பில் பதிலளிக்கப்பட்டது. அந்த ஜில்லா பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருப்பதானது அதற்கு விசேஷ சலுகை காட்டவேண்டுமென்று நாங்கள் கேட்கிறோம்.

“ நீர்ப்பாசன வேலைகளும் வெகுசாலமாக நடைபெறவில்லை. கடந்த இரண்டு வருஷங்களில் ஜமின்தாரிப் பிரதேசங்களில் நீர்ப்பாசன வேலைகளுக்குப் பல லக்ஷக்கணக்கான தொகை செலவிட்டிருந்தாலும், இன்னும் இந்த ஜில்லாவில் எவ்வளவோ செய்யவேண்டியிருக்கின்றன. நொண்டிப் பிள்ளையையும், குருட்டுப் பிள்ளையையும் காட்டி பிச்சை கேட்பது போல் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவுக்குச் சலுகை காட்டவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்கவில்லை. நிரந்தரமாக சலுகை வேண்டுமென்றும் நாங்கள் கேட்கவில்லை. நாங்கள் சீக்கிரம் முன்னேறவே விரும்புகிறோம். ஆனால், முன்னால் எங்கள் ஜில்லா இருந்த பிற்போக்கு நிலைமையையும், அதேசமயத்தில் மற்ற ஜில்லாக்கள் சர்க்காரின் நேரடியான நிர்வாகத்தில் இருந்துவந்த போது இருந்த நிலைமையையும் ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்தால், எங்கள் ஜில்லா இவ்வளவு பிற்பட்ட நிலைமையில் இருந்து வருவதற்குக் காரணங்கள் என்ன என்பது தெரியவரும். ஆகையால், எங்கள் ஜில்லாவுக்கு தொடர்ந்து இன்னும் சர்க்கார் உதவியளிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை.

“ கிராம அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டமானது சரியாக எவ்வளவு தூரம் வேலை செய்துவருகிறதென்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். கனம் அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர் நேற்று இதை அஞ்சேபித்து, ‘இந்தத் திட்டத்தினால் பிரயோஜனமில்லை’ என்று சொன்னார். கனம் அங்கத்தினருடைய தொகுதியிலேயே இந்தத் திட்டமானது எந்தக் கிராமங்களில், எந்த பிரக்காவில், எப்படி அமல் நடத்தப்பட்டு வருகிறதென்பது அவருக்குத் தெரியாது என்று நான் நிச்சயமாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன். தொடர்பு அவருக்கு இல்லாததால் அவசரப்பட்டு சொல்லிவிட்டார் என்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். அவருடைய தொகுதியிலுள்ள நத்தம்பட்டி பிரக்காவிலும், ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூர் பிரக்காவில் சில கிராமங்களிலும் இந்தத் திட்டம் இரண்டு, மூன்று வருஷங்களாகவே அமுலுக்கு வந்துவிட்டது. இந்தத் திட்டம் அமல் நடத்தப்பட்ட சில கிராமங்களுக்கு அவர் சமீபகால தேர்தலுக்காகச் சென்றார். அந்தக் கிராமங்களுக்கு அவருடைய Pontiac கார்கூட செல்லும்படியான ரோடுகள் இருந்திருக்கின்றன. இதை எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால், ஏற்கனவே ஜிப் கூட போகமுடியாத அந்தக் கிராமங்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது அந்த கார்கூட போகும்படியான முன்னேற்றமெல்லாம் எவ்வாறு ஏற்பட்டதென்பதை அவருடைய ரூபாத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன். பொது ஜனங்களுடைய சக்தி, அவர்களுடைய ஆர்வம், இவையனைத் தூண்டு வலகையில் சர்க்கார் எதோ ஒரு பகுதி பணத்தை செலவிட்டு வருவதால், அவர்களுடைய எண்ணங்களும் அறிவும் நல்லமுறையில் தூண்டிவிடப்பட்டு, கிராமங்களில் நல்ல வேலைகள் நடப்பதற்கு கிராம அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டம் மிகவும் உபயோகமாயிருக்கிறது. இது மிகவும் பெருமையளிக்கக்கூடிய விஷயமாகும்.

“ இராமனாதபுரம் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள எதிர்க்கோட்டை, மல்லி, நத்தம்பட்டி ரெலின்பூ பிரக்காக்களும் வேறு மூன்று பிரக்காக்களில் சில கிராமங்களும் இந்தத் திட்டத்தின் கீழ் எடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அந்த இடங்களில் கிராம ரோடுகள் இப்பொழுது போடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. சுமார் ஒரு லக்ஷம் ரூபாய் பெறுமான ரோடுகள் போடுவதற்கு 50 ஆயிரம் ரூபாய்

[Sri R. Krishnaswami Naidu] [15th July 1952]

பெறுமான நிலங்கள் விவசாயிகளிடமிருந்தும், பொது மக்களிடமிருந்தும் இனாமாக பெறப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். எவ்வளவு பெரிய மாறுதல் இந்தத் திட்டத்தினால் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிற தென்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர் யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். மற்றவர்களுக்கும் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ள விரும்புகின்றேன். கிராம மக்கள் தாங்களாகவே நிலங்களை ரோடு போடுவதற்காக இனாமாக சர்க்காருக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்களென்றால், கிராம மக்களின் ஆர்வத்தை நாம் பாராட்டவேண்டும். இதற்குக் காரணம் சர்க்காரின் கிராமாபிவிருத்தித் திட்டம்தான். ஆனால் கிராமங்களுக்கு சர்க்கார் இன்னும் எவ்வளவோ செய்யக் கட்டமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. வெகுகாலமாக கிராமங்களின் நலன்கள் கவனிக்கப்படாமலிருந்த காரணத்தால், சர்க்கார் இப்பொழுது கிராமங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்வதற்கு மிகவும் கட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டும். கிராமங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவு செய்யவேண்டுமோ அதைச் செய்யாமல் இருந்திருப்பதால், அதற்குத் தகுந்த சந்தர்ப்பம் வாய்ந்திருக்கிறது.

“நத்தம்பட்டி பிரிக்காவில் அக்கணபுரம் போன்ற பல கிராமங்களிலிருந்து பெரிய ரோடுகளுடன் இணைப்பதற்கு கிராம ரோடுகள் போடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அங்கே நான்கு கிராமங்களில் பாடசாலைகள் கட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள். கலெக்டருடைய discretionary கிராண்டிலிருந்து அதிக பசும்கள் ஒரு கிராமத்திற்கு பாடசாலை கட்டுவதற்கு ரூ. 500 கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அம்மாதிரி ரூ. 500 பெற்று நான்கு கிராமங்களில் 3,000, 4,000 ரூபாய் செலவில் பாடசாலைகளும் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன. ரூபாய் 300, 400 discretionary grant பெற்று வாசகசாலைகளும் நத்தம்பட்டி பிரிக்காவில் நான்கு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. ஸ்ரீவில்லிபுத்தூரில் நான்கு ஊர்கள் தான் இந்தத் திட்டத்தின் கீழ் எடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அந்த ஒரு பகுதியைப் பற்றி சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன். அங்கு திட்டம் அமுலுக்கு வந்து, ஒரு மத்தியதரப் பள்ளியும், இரண்டு கிராம ரோடுகளும் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு Multi-purpose Co-operative Society யானது, பைப், கல்வார்ட்டுகள், கிணறுகள் முதலிய வேலைகளை எடுத்துச் செய்துவருகிறது. இன்னும் பல கிராமங்களில் Multi-purpose Co-operative Society ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டு வேலை செய்துகொண்டு வருகின்றன. கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்கள் மூலம் பலவித விவசாய கடன்கள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. கூட்டுறவு godowns கட்டப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நூற்றுக்கணக்கான புதிய கிணறுகள் வெப்பப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. ஆகையால், இந்தத் திட்டம் கிராமங்களுக்கு மிகவும் முக்கியமானது என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு இந்த மான்யக் கோரிக்கையை ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.”

3-15 * SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDA :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே ! தற்போதைய கரங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் புறக்கணிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். மேல்சபை நாமிநேஷனில் ஹரிஜனங்களில் ஒருவர்கூட இடம் பெறவில்லை. மந்திரி சபையில் தமிழ் நாட்டு ஹரிஜனங்களில் ஒருவர் கூட இடம் பெறவில்லை. பெற்றிருந்தால் தமிழ் நாட்டுக் குறைகளை நீக்க ஏதுவாக இருந்திருக்கும்.

“கனம் பிரதமர் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குத் தாய் போல நன்மை செய்தவர். சென்னை அரசாங்கத்தில் கெஜெட்டெட் பதிவு ஆபீஸர்களாக ஹரிஜனங்களில் பலர் வந்திருப்பதன் காரணம் ராஜாஜியே. ஸ்ரீ நந்தனார் கல்விக் கழகத்திற்கு ராஜாஜி எல்லையற்ற நன்மைகள் செய்துள்ளார். அப்படிப்பட்டவர் திருவுள்ளம் புண்படும்படியாக யாரோ தவறு தலாக ஹரிஜனங்களைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லியுள்ளார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் காங்கிரஸுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடவில்லையென்றும், கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கே வோட்டளித்தார்களென்றும். தேர்தலில் தோற்ற சிலர் தவறுதலாகத் தெரிவித்துள்ளார்கள். கனம் ராஜாஜியும் அதை அப்படியே நம்பிவிட்டார்கள். அதன் விளைவாக பட்ஜெட் பேச்சில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் விஷயமாக ஒரு வார்த்தையும் சொல்லவில்லை. ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வைத்திருந்த கிராண்டுகள் குறைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. 1951-52-ல் கிராமமாக காலத்தில் மனுப்

15th July 1952]

[Sri A. S. Sahajananda]

போட்டு காலத்தில் தொடங்கப்பெற்று கணம் கலெக்டர்களால் சிபார்சு செய்யப்பட்ட ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்கு சர்க்கார் 1952 ஜூனில் கொடுக்கும் கிராண்டை நிறுத்தியிருப்பதாக கலெக்டர்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கப்பட்டு கலெக்டர்கள் ஹாஸ்டல் மாணேஜர்களுக்கு தெரிவித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

“தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் லேபர் பள்ளிகளில் கொடுக்கும் பகல் உணவிற்கு சென்ற ஆண்டில் மூன்று லக்ஷ ரூபாய்கள் கொடுத்திருந்தார்கள். இந்த ஆண்டில் ஒரு லக்ஷமாகக் குறைத்துள்ளார்கள். இப்படியே பல அயிட்டங்களில் குறைத்துள்ளார்கள். பட்ஜெட்டில் சென்ற ஆண்டில் 72 லக்ஷமும், இந்த ஆண்டில் 74 லக்ஷமும் ஒதுக்கியுள்ளார்கள் என கணக்கில் காணப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் ஹரிஜனங்களின் கல்வி நன்மைக்கோ, இதர நன்மைக்கோ கொடுக்கப்பட்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. ஆனால் கள்ளர் ரெக்ளமெஷனுக்கும், சர்க்கார் சிப்பந்திகளுக்குமே அதிகப்படி செலவழிப்பதாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. 1951-52-ல் நடத்திய ஹாஸ்டல்களின் கிராண்டை நிறுத்தியிருப்பதோடு 1952-53-க்கு புது ஹாஸ்டல்கள் துவக்கக்கூடாதெனவும் உத்திரவு செய்துள்ளார்கள். இதனால் பத்தாண்டுகளுக்குள் ஹரிஜனங்களை மற்றவர்களுக்குச் சமமாகக் கொண்டு வருவதென்னும் சலுகை அடியோடு மறுக்கப்படுகிறதல்லவா? இந்தியா சுதந்திரம் பெற்றால் ஒரு ஹரிஜனப் பெண் ஜனாதிபதியாக வரவேண்டுமென்று சொன்ன காந்திஜியின் கொள்கைக்கு மாறல்லவா? ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டல்களை அங்கீகாரம் செய்யாமல் விட்டுவிட்டால் அது ஹரிஜன குழந்தைகளின் கண்களைக் குத்துவதும், வயிற்றில் மண்ணைப் போடுவதல்லவா? கணம் பிரதமர் அவர்கள் இதனைச் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்க கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அப்படிச் செய்யத் தவறினால் நம் ஒவ்வொருவரின் எதிரே நின்று கவனிக்கும் காந்திஜியின் ஆவ் என்னபாடுபடும் என்பதைச் சிந்திக்கவேண்டுமென. ஹரிஜனங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் அவர்களுக்கு நன்மையைச் செய்தே அவர்களைத் திருப்பவேண்டும். முஸ்லீம்கள் தீமை செய்தபோதிலும் அவர்கள் மசூதிகளை கட்டிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக காந்திஜி உத்தரவிட்டார். முஸ்லீம்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்பு அளிக்கச் செய்து நவகாலியில் தாம் கால் நடைபாக நடந்து முஸ்லீம் சமூகத்தினரின் ஆதரவைப் பெற்றார். அதுபோல் இப்பொழுதும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பல நன்மைகளைச் செய்து தான் அவர்களின் ஆதரவைப் பெற வேண்டும். அவ்வாறின்றி அவர்கள் நன்மைகளைக் கெடுத்தால் அற்ப அன்புடையவர்கள் உடனே மாறிவிடுவார்கள். உள்ளபடி அன்புடையவர்களும் அபேச்சர்களின் தொந்தரவால் உடனே மாறிவிடுவார்கள். இதனால் காங்கிரஸ் பார்ட்டிக்கு பலவீனம் ஏற்படும். இது ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மாத்திரம் கெடுதியல்ல, காங்கிரஸுக்கும் கெடுதிதான்.

“வருஷ முழுவதும் கோயிலில் பூசை முதலியன நடத்தி ஆண்டு முடிவில் திருவிழா நடத்துவார்கள். அதனால் தின்பபூசையிலேற்பட்ட பிழைகள் மறைக்கப்படும். அப்படியே விருந்தினர் மாத முழுவதும் உபசரித்து ஊருக்குப் போகும்போது விருந்து நடத்தி மனதிலுள்ள குறைகளை நீக்கி விருந்தினரை மகிழ்விப்பார்கள். அதபோலவே ராஜாஜி சிறு வயதி விருந்து ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்து வந்ததோடு பதவியேற்றபின் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க நன்மைகள் செய்தார். அவையெல்லாம் தற்போது ஹரிஜனங்களின் மேல் கோபத்தால் செய்யப்படும் இந்த தீமைகளால் மறைக்கப்பட்டு தீமைதான் காலத்திற்கும் நிற்கும். செய்த நன்மைகள் மறைந்து போகும். ஆதலால் ராஜாஜி ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேகமாயும், கணிசமாகமுள்ள நன்மைகளைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இம்மாகாணத்து வரும்படியில் ஐந்திலொரு பங்கை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு செலவிடவேண்டும். அறுபத்தேழு கோடியில் ஐந்திலொரு பங்கு 13 கோடியே 40 லட்சமிருக்கிறது. இந்த 13 கோடியே 40 லட்சத்தையும் ஒவ்வொரு ஆண்டிலும் செலவழித்து வந்தால் சில ஆண்டுகளில் ஹரிஜனங்களின் குறைகள் நீங்கிவிடும். எங்கள் பாகத்திற்கு அதிகமாக ஒரு காசு கூட கேட்கவில்லை. தற்போது ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற இலாகா செய்து வரும் முறையில் ஆயிரம் யுகங்களானாலும் முன்னேற்றம் பெற முடி

[Sri A. S. Sahajananda]

[15th July 1952]

யாது. ஆனால் பாரபட்சமின்றி அவர்கள் பங்கை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்தால் கட்டாயம் முன்னுக்கு வருவார்கள். கனம் பிரதமரும் இன்கம் டாக்ஸ் வரியில் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தார் மாகாண அரசாங்கத்தாருக்கு ஜனத்தொகையை அனுசரித்துக் கொடுத்தால் சென்னை மாகாணத்திற்கு 17 லக்ஷத்திற்கு மேல் 20 லக்ஷம் வரும் என்று தெரிவித்தார். அப்படியே மாகாண வரும்படியை ஹரிஜனங்களின் ஜனத்தொகைக்கேற்றவாறு பிரித்துக் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்றே.

“மேலும் நடைபெற்று வரும் ஹாஸ்டல்களின் நிர்வாகத்திற்கு அதன் மாணேஜரிடம் பணம் கொடுக்காமல் மாணவர்களிடம் பணம் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று அபிப்பிராயம் கொண்டிருப்பதாக வதந்தியுலாவுகிறது. அது உண்மையானால் அது ஹாஸ்டல்களை அழிக்கும் கெட்ட செயலாகும். அனுகூண்டு போன்றதாகும். சென்னையில் நடைபெற்ற பாடிசன் ஹாஸ்டல் நிறுத்த அவ்வித சூழ்ச்சிகான் நடந்தது. மேலும் இதற்கு முந்தி நடைபெற்ற காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கத்தார் அனுபத்திலுணர்ந்து கலெக்டர்கள் சிபார்சின் மேல் பார்ட் 2 ஸ்கீமாக பல சிபார்சு செய்திருந்தார்கள். அவையினேத்தும் நிறுத்தப்பட்ட விட்டன. நடத்தப் பெறும் வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தோடு பார்ட் 2 ஸ்கீமையும் அங்கீகரித்து புது ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்கு மூன்று லக்ஷம் ஒதுக்கினால் ஹரிஜனங்கள் புது ஹாஸ்டல்கள் நிறைவேறும். ராஜாஜி வருகிறார், நன்மையே கிடைக்கும் என ஹரிஜனங்கள் மகிழ்ந்தார்கள். ஆனால் தற்போதைய செயலால் வருந்துகிறார்கள். ஏதிரிகள் இந்தச் சமயத்தைப் பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ளுவார்கள். கனம் ராஜாஜி நன்றி மறக்காமல் நன்றல்லதை அன்றே மறக்கப் பிரார்த்திக்கின்றேன்.

“காங்கிரஸ் பார்ட்டியில் சுமார் 32 ஹரிஜனங்கள் வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்களில் வோட்டில் தான் பெரும்பாலோரும் வந்தோம். இதில் தமிழ் நாட்டிலிருந்து 26 பேர்கள் வந்திருக்கிறோம். மேலும் காங்கிரஸ் பார்ட்டியில் 152 மெம்பர்கள் வந்துள்ளார்கள். இவர்களெல்லோரும் ஹரிஜனங்களின் வோட்டுகள் பெற்றே வந்துள்ளார்கள் என்பதை மறுக்க முடியாது. மாகாணத்தில் சராசரி ஒரு சிராமத்தில் 100 வோட்டுகளிருக்கு மாறும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு 36 வோட்டுகளும், பட்டயாச்சிகள் இதர முன்னேற்றப் பெறுதவர்களுக்கு 26 வோட்டுகளும், பிராமணர் முதலாக பின்னே, ரெட்டி, முதலி, கவுண்டர் முதலான எல்லா ஜாதிகளுக்கும் சேர்ந்து 38 வோட்டுகளும் உள்ளன. இதில் தனிப்பட்ட சமூகத்தவர்கள் தங்கள் சமூக வோட்டால் வர முடியாது. ஹரிஜனங்களின் வோட்டு யாருக்கு கிடைக்கிறதோ அவர்கள் கட்டாயம், திட்டமாக ஜெயிப்பார்கள். ஆகையால் 152 பேரும் ஹரிஜனங்களின் வோட்டைப் பெற்றே ஜெயித்தார்கள். இந்த உண்மையை மறக்க வேண்டாம். ஆகையால் சீற்றம் தோன்ற எதுவிலை. காங்கிரஸ் பார்ட்டியை வலுப்படுத்தவும், ஹரிஜனங்களின் நன்மையைப் பாதுகாக்கவும் ராஜாஜி அருள் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

“அரசினத்தால் ஈன்றதாயகற்றிடினும் மற்றவன் தன் அருள் நினைந்தே அழுங்குமுவி போன்று என்பதாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நன்மையை செய்யாமல் கோபமாக இருப்பினும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் அவர்கள் நன்மை செய்வார்கள் என்றே எண்ணிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் போலவே ராஜாஜியும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் சார்பாக பணிந்து கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“மந்திரி சபையில் சுமார் 15 பேர்களிருக்கிறார்கள். ஜனத்தொகையின்படிப் பார்த்தால் மூன்று ஸ்தானங்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கவேண்டும். ஆந்திர ஹரிஜன் ஆறு பேர்களிருக்கிறார்கள். தமிழ் நாட்டு ஹரிஜன் 26 பேர்களிருப்பதால் தமிழ் நாட்டு ஹரிஜன் ஒருவருக்கு கொடுக்கப் பிராத்திக்கிறேன். ‘அப்படி கொடுப்பதால் அதிகாரத்தை அவர்கள் துஷ்பிரயோகம் செய்யமாட்டார்கள். அரசியல் சுதந்திரம் வேண்டுமென்பதும் அதற்கே. ஆகையால் தமிழ் ஹரிஜனன் ஒருவருக்கும் மந்திரி பதவி கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக கனம் ராஜாஜியைக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will kindly permit me or rather I hope my Friends opposite will permit me to speak a few words in Tamil before I begin my speech in English.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ The speech will have to be translated into English.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Not necessary.”

“ தலைவர் அவர்களே, கடைசியாகப் பேசிய நண்பர் ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா சொன்ன விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகள் தமிழில் சொல்லிவிட்டு பிறகு மற்றவர்களுடைய அகேஷ்பீணைகளுக்கும், கேள்விகளுக்கும் சமாதானம் சொல்லப்பிரியப்படுகிறேன்.

“ ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா அவர்கள் ஒரு முடிவான எண்ணத்திற்கு வந்து, அதன்பேரில் எனக்கு புத்திமதி கூறினார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்கு விரோதமாக சென்ற தேர்தலிலே போட்டுப் போட்டு விட்டார்கள் என்றும், ஹரிஜனங்கள் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்கு விரோதம் செய்து விட்டதால்தான் நான் தற்போது அந்தக் கோபத்தின் பேரில் வருத்தப்பட்டு ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது என்னுடைய சொந்த ஸ்வபாவத்தோடு செய்யக் கூடிய நன்மைகளைக் கூட செய்யாமல் குறைத்து விட்டதாகவும், அவர்களுக்குச் செய்யவேண்டியவைகளைச் செய்யவில்லையென்றும் சொன்னார்கள். இது முற்றிலும் அனாவசியமான பேச்சு. ஹரிஜனங்கள் சென்ற எலக்சனிலே என்ன செய்தார்கள் என்பதைப்பற்றி எனக்கு கவலையில்லை. அதைப்பற்றி பலர் பலவாறு பேசிக்கொண்டுவார்கள். அவைகள் எல்லாம் எனக்குத் தெரியாது என்பதில்லை. ஆனால் அதில் என் உணர்ச்சியை செலுத்தவில்லை. கோபம் வேண்டாம் என்று எனக்குச் சொல்லித் தரவேண்டியதுமில்லை.

“ ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா அவர்கள் இந்தச் சிறு விஷயத்தில் ஏதாவது தப்பாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் நடந்திருந்தாலும் கூட அவர்கள் பேரில் நான் கோபம் கொள்ளக்கூடாதென்று சொன்னார்கள். ஸ்வாமி அவர்களுக்கு ஒரே ஒரு சமாதானம் சொல்லுகிறேன். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மற்ற மேல் ஜாதியார்கள் என்று சொல்லப்படுபவர்கள் எவ்வளவோ நாட்களாக, எவ்வளவோ பெரிய திமைகளைச் செய்து வந்தார்கள் என்றாலும் அவைகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மறந்து விடவேண்டுமென்று நாங்கள் ஹரிஜன சமூகத்தினருக்கு விடாமல் சொல்லிக்கொண்டு வரும்போது, அதற்கு நேர்மாறாக சென்ற வருஷம் டிசம்பரிலோ, ஜனவரியிலோ நடந்த விஷயத்தை மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு நான் ஹரிஜனங்களின் சமூகத்திற்குச் செய்யவேண்டியவைகளைச் செய்யாமல் போவேன் என்று அவர் பயப்படவேண்டியதில்லை.

“ ஹரிஜனங்கள் பலகாரணங்களினால் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்திருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸுக்கு விரோதமாக வேலை செய்தார்களா அல்லது ஒத்து வேலை செய்தார்களா என்பது அல்ல-இப்பொழுது கேள்வி. ஹரிஜனங்கள் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்து, கள்ளக்கடை, சாராயக்கடை இவைகளை மூடியதினால் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்து, அவர்களுக்கு இதுவரையிலும் கொடுத்து வந்த சலுகைகளினால் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்து, தங்களுடைய சுதந்திரங்களை நன்றாக உணர்ந்து, அவர்கள் தங்கள் இஷ்டப்படி சுதந்திரமாக சென்ற தேர்தலிலே நடந்து கொண்டார்கள். இதற்காக நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷமடைகிறேன். காங்கிரஸுக்கு விரோதமாக நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதற்காக வருத்தப்படவில்லை. கட்சியினுடைய லாபம், அல்லது நஷ்டம் எல்லாம் வெகு அற்பம். அதற்கு மதிப்பு கிடையாது. ஒரு சமூகம் முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்தது தான் பெரிது. இந்த விஷயம் நாங்கள் எந்த அனுசூலம், எந்தப் பிரதிகூலம் செய்தபோதிலும் அவர்கள் செய்தது,

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

[15th July 1952]

அவர்களுடைய முன்னேற்றத்தின் அடையாளமாகும். எது நன்மை, எதைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதை மதிப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்து அவர்கள் நடந்து கொண்டதினால் அவர்கள் அதிக முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதினால் எனக்குச் சந்தோஷமே தவிர 'வோட்' இந்தக் கட்சிக்குத் செய்தார்கள், அந்தக் கட்சிக்குச் செய்தார்கள் என்பதினால் எனக்குக் கோபமில்லையென்பதை ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா அறியவேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மந்திரி சபையில் எல்லோருக்கும் விகிதாசாரப்படி இடம் தரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்படிப் பார்த்து ஒவ்வொரு ஜாதியார்களுக்கும், ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாக்காரர்களுக்கும், சரியான விகிதாசாரப்படி இடம் தரவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால் அரசாட்சி நடக்கா தென்பது எல்லோரும் அறிந்தது தான். சிஸ்சமயம் மந்திரி சபையில் இரண்டு பேர்கள் தமிழர்கள் அதிகமிருக்கலாம். சிஸ்சமயம் இரண்டு தெலுங்கர்கள் அதிகமிருக்கலாம். விகிதாசாரப்படி தான் இவர்கள் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் ஜனநாயகம், அல்லது நல்ல ஆட்சி ஏற்படமுடியாது. என்னுடைய மந்திரி சபையில் இருக்குக் கூடிய 15 பேர்களில் பலவிதமாகப் பிரித்துப் பார்த்து தமிழர்கள் எவ்வளவு, தெலுங்கர்கள் எவ்வளவு, ஜில்லாவாரியாக எவ்வளவு, அல்லது தொழில்வாரியாக, அல்லது நிறம், உயரம் எல்லாம் எவ்வளவு என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பார்த்து எந்த முடிவுக் கும் வரமுடியாது. எதோ என்னுடைய யோசனை, அல்லது என்னுடைய யோசனையற்ற ஸ்வாபவத்தால் இந்தப் பதினேந்து பேர்களையும், எந்த காரணத்தாலோ பொருக்கினேன். இவர்கள் ஒன்றும் ஜனங்களுக்கு கெடு தல்கள் செய்யமாட்டார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் கெடுதல் செய்ய மாட்டார்கள். நம்முடைய சட்டசபைக்கு ஒரு ஹரிஜனத் தமிழர்தான் தலைவராக இருந்து வருகிறார்கள் என்பதை ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா அவர்கள் எப்போதும் ஞாபகத்தில் வைத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். இது நம்முடைய முன்னேற்றத்தின் அடையாளம்; ஹரிஜன சமூக முன்னேற்றத்தின் அடையாளம். நம்முடைய முன்னேற்ற மனப்பான்மையின் அடையாளம். நம்முடைய குறைகளுக்கும், கஷ்டங்களுக்கும் காப்பும் இதுவேயாகும். ஆகையால் ஸகஜானந்தா அவர்கள் கணக்குப்படி மதிப்பு போட்டால் தன்னுடைய சமூகத்தின் பிரதிநிதியாக இருக்கும் சட்டசபைத் தலைவருக்கு எவ்வளவு மதிப்பு கொடுப்பார்கள்? மற்றவர்களுக்கு அவர் ஒன்று என்று போட்டால் அவருக்கு பத்தி என்று கணக்குப்போட்டு சமாதானம் சொல்லலாம். அதனால் எனக்கு ஹரிஜனங்கள் மேல் கோபம் என்று எண்ணி சமாதானம் சொல்வதோ, அல்லது புத்திமதி சொல்வதோ அவசியம் இல்லையென்று இதனால் சொல்லுகிறேன்.

“இதுவும் தவிர ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தாபைல் திருப்தி அடையாத பேர்களையெல்லாம் திருப்தி செய்விக்கப் போனால் ஒரு பழங்கதையைப் போல ஆற்றில் விழும் நிலைமையாகிவிடும். என்னுடைய அனுபவங்களின் பேரில் எல்லாவற்றையும் மனச்சாக்கிப்படி முடிவு செய்து கொள்ள வேண்டுமே தவிர தாற்காலிக நிலைமையைக்கொண்டு எதையும் செய்ய முடியாது. என்னேப் பற்றி ஹரிஜனங்கள் எப்போதும் நான் அவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்தேன் என்று நினைத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பதாக ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தா அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள். அது எவ்வளவு தூரம் நிஜம், எவ்வளவு தூரம் வெறும் பாராட்டுதல் என்பது ஸ்வாமி ஸகஜானந்தாவுக்கும், எனக்கும் தெரியும். அதைப் பற்றி இந்தச் சபையில் விவரமாகப் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டிய தவசியமில்லை.

“Sir, for the benefit of those who could not follow Tamil, I may say that I was offering a personal explanation about Swami Sahajananda's complaint that I was angry with the Harijans. I have been telling that it is not so. If anger were to guide people, I should be prepared for terrible anger from the Harijans towards other castes. I am not likely to commit the mistake of doing anything in anger.

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“ This Demand was a routine Demand in the olden days. This Demand was a charged item, because nobody could be removed. But now the Ministry could be removed. Therefore part of the Demand is votable and what is not votable is still charged. In the discussion, emphasis was laid on one aspect and that was that the Governor's establishment was too costly and the expenditure on it should be reduced and that the Ministry should take note of this. I said already in another place and I say again that all aspects of this problem were fully considered by the leaders as well as the other Members of the Constituent Assembly when the Constitution was being hatched and passed through that House, and they had come to certain conclusions. I need not apologise for what is going on; I am only explaining the matter. Most of the Members seem to be under the delusion, when they see the figure of 7 lakhs, that the Governor is pocketing all that money and going away to Benares. Most hon. Members know that that is not correct. But the repeated references to the lakhs in all the speeches may delude the common folk in the country who have no other literature to read in the morning except the newspaper. It is wrong to lay emphasis on what is not important. Most of the hon. Members know what actually the Governor draws. For the benefit of those who do not know the actual position, I shall give the figure. His salary is Rs. 5,500. Out of this, he has cut out Rs. 825 voluntarily. After the taxes—supertax, surcharge and income-tax—are deducted, he gets a net salary of Rs. 3,146-1-0 per month. The Chief Justice of Madras gets Rs. 5,000, the Judges of the Madras High Court—there are quite a lot of them, 14 or 15—get Rs. 4,000 and there are many others, whom I need not mention, who get a fairly big salary. I submit that there is no great disproportion in this matter. How much the Governor should be paid and how much the President should be paid were discussed by thorough-going democrats—some of them are more revolutionary than the hon. Members who spoke in this House—not only with reference to their opinion but also with reference to public criticism and public opinion, and this rule was made. I submit that this is not a matter for debate in this House.

“ Reference was made to certain allowances. If we take the expenditure of the Srirangam temple or the Sankarachariar Math, the total amount will be a good deal. But every unit in the establishment gets nothing more than what ordinary people get. There is a gardener who is paid something, there is a clerk who is paid something and there is a secretary who is paid something and so on. There is not much difference between the monthly wages of the people who work in that establishment and the people who work in other establishments. If we add up all the expenditure of the Presidency College, including the amount spent on the proper upkeep of the building, the total will be something terrible. We should not imagine that the Principal, whoever he is, takes away the whole amount. General and vague references in a debate like this give the impression that the Governor of Madras is a big white elephant and that we may as well get rid of him. But that

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is not correct. The expenditure is rigorously audited with regard to public works, gardens, etc. The only item that is not audited is the food that is supplied to the staff. It is impossible for ordinary Members to know how things are calculated. I know it because I was the Governor of West Bengal for some time. I had great trouble with my Controller. I had to arrange with him as to how things should be paid for. I thought I would be ruined if I was Governor of West Bengal for more than two months. The Governor lives as a man lives in a hotel. He does not live in his own house. The food of the staff, the A.D.Cs. and all the people who live there is calculated as in a hotel and the amount is deducted from the payment due to the staff. Let me tell hon. Members that there is no joy in a Governor's life or a Governor-General's life unless one has philosophy enough to get over all the troubles and carry on. There is no such thing as making money. Hon. Members imagine that sumptuary allowance is a Sumptuary allowance with a capital letter. It is not so. These Heads of States, the Governor and the Governor-General, have to receive guests and look after them, again, in a hotel style and there is no such thing as domestic estimate in these things. All the guests who come to the palatial residence of the Governor or Governor-General have to be looked after properly and in a suitable manner and that is why sumptuary allowance is provided. The sumptuary and entertainment allowance, I am sure, are not enough for meeting the expenditure of the household. I need not go further into this matter. As I said already, these things have been considered and the matter has been settled. But what has been said has its own effect. It is a general protest against pomposity. We all agree that pomp should go. But we cannot do it so easily as some people imagine. Any sudden severance from the way of life that a particular office is used to is in itself a kind of pomposity. We have to avoid all that, we have to go carefully. What is it that we can cut out here? I submit that we cannot cut out much. We can cut out something now and then and the Governor is trying to do that. He has proposed to me a further cut besides the one that I referred to. Most of us being poor, several Members do not know the scale of income-tax on higher income groups. A gentleman like me who writes some small books and gets a royalty from some publisher stands to lose. When I become a Governor all my income including the royalty is added up and the total is taken as my income and the slab goes up to that extent. I need not dilate on this. Let not people imagine that there is something very enjoyable in the life of a Governor and that we are indulging in extravagant waste in this matter. By all means, when the Constitution is next amended, let us say that there is no necessity for a Governor, the Chief Minister of the State will do all the functions of the Chief Minister as well as the Governor or we may have somebody else. Let me assure hon. Members that the experience of the world in modern times, apart from the olden times, shows that a Head of State is necessary everywhere. If we have a Head of State, he should not be treated as suggested here. He should be

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treated like the God in a temple. We may have a King Stork instead of a King Log. The question is asked why the Governor should not be given full powers. Then the position would become even more difficult, for the Head of the State will become a nuisance if any such powers were given. I request the hon. Members to forget this matter. Everything has been considered and decided. This is a constitutional matter and let us leave it at that."

SRI T. SHANMUGAM :—" I rise on a point of information, Sir."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If it is a point of order, I shall yield. If it is a point of information, there is plenty of time to raise it and every morning there is one hour for information."

" Let me proceed to the main point. The complaint is that there are too many Ministers here. The Opposition objects to the number of Ministers, to individual Ministers, to the Ministry as a whole and to the Chief Minister on the top of it all. I know it very well. What is the Constitution and why is it so framed? The man who is called to carry on has the right to decide the number of Ministers. If I were a few years younger, I could carry on with only two or three Ministers. But as I am situated and as I sense the volume of work that one has to go through these days, I think that 15 Ministers is not too many. If any hon. Member on the other side gets to be the Chief Minister some time, he will find it. In Calcutta, there is a gentleman who is more vigorous than me, who is quite strong, who is a bit younger in age, who has a fairly dominating character, who is able to get things done and who has no such Opposition as I have here. He has taken 30 gentlemen as his colleagues. It may look like an exaggeration, but if we take all the Parliamentary Secretaries and others together, it comes to about 30. Hon. Members should move a motion that I should have two or three more Ministers rather than ask me to reduce the number of Ministers that I have."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" We agree to thirty."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If it comes really from their hearts, if they listen to the voice of their conscience and their natural affection, they will really give me a few more Ministers. But this is politics and they forget their real nature and want me to commit mistakes."

" Mr. Narayana Kurup said that the administration had deteriorated. I do not know what he compares the present with. If he compares the present with the efficiency of the Government 40 or 50 years ago, I admit administration has deteriorated. The amount of personal attention that each officer devoted and the amount of work that each officer did within the sphere of his responsibility were very great and very good. The quality also was very good. If we look at the work which Sir Thomas Munroe did

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or the great engineers like Cotton or Ellis did, we could hardly believe how they did all that excellent work. Things look deteriorated when we pass through 50 years and compare the present with the picture of the distant past in every detail. But if we take into account the present volume and variety of work and the expectations of the people, I think we cannot say that the work has deteriorated.

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“ I have worked in 1937. What was the work I had then? No doubt the work was pretty heavy even then. Even then my friends were telling me that I was overworking myself. I was working pretty hard and for long hours. Yet, if I compare the total work in the Ministry and in the Secretariat now with the work that we had in 1937, I confess that at the present moment, the work is five times the work we had in 1937, because every department has grown now. Who does not know the various welfare works that we have now taken up, the ramifications of the Government, the politics arising out of the work, and the complaints and counter-complaints that arise out of this? One can hardly imagine the amount of work that is gone through in the Secretariat. Many friends ask me, ‘ Why do you bury yourself in these files? ’ I may say that on the average I see 100 files a day. Do not get alarmed. There are various kinds of files. Each one is a problem. It is not mere paper. It is not red-tape. It is not blue pad. Every file is a human problem. Every file has got a tragedy or a history behind it. We have to go through it. This file comes out of the Secretariat. It does not come all of a sudden to me. It grows from a simple petition. Somebody sends a petition. Then that petition has to be looked into. The previous papers must be taken. The previous history must be analysed. The whole thing should be put together. Nobody should be allowed to commit a mistake. Two or three people check one over the other. Then it comes to the Minister, and the Minister cannot be misled. I may mention to hon. Members—I am not trying to flatter my Secretariat—that our Secretariat is the best in India. I have seen many Secretariats. Our Secretariat commits no mistakes as far as human caution can keep them from mistakes. They do not mislead. They do not prejudice the thing one way or the other. The facts are properly put before the Minister. But if the Minister does not understand the work, that is a different matter ! (Laughter.) The work of the Secretariat is heavy, and it is of good quality. It is impossible for any Member to suggest—he will see this if he only takes charge of it—that we can reduce the strength of the Secretariat. It is not possible. No doubt I know our people are poor, and our civilization has overgrown. We do not want this Secretariat. That is my opinion. I want a simpler Government and a simpler life all round, because people cannot bear all this. But as it stands to-day, it is unjust to say that there is no work in the Secretariat or that they are shirking work or that they do not deserve to be kept there for doing the work given to them. There I cannot agree. We can change the whole thing by a revolutionary change, but have I the strength or even the time to think

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of such a change? All change takes some time, and there will be more confusion in the interlude, if I make a quick and sudden change. Suppose I tell people that petitions should be disposed of without reference to previous papers, I can contract the work of the Secretariat to 1/20th of the work now done. I can reduce the work by saying, 'Do not bother about the past; let us dispose of it as it is'. But people would not like it and would not tolerate it. If we do not hear the other side, and dispose of papers without reference to previous papers, we can dispose of 20 days' work in one day. But we cannot do so. The work of the Secretariat is heavy. I can give evidence for it. Every one of the Secretariat Departments and my officers are working hard. No doubt they have got into certain habits. They cannot work all night till 12 o'clock, as I am inclined to do. They cannot keep away from the 5 o'clock relaxation. These are their habits of life. If we want them to change their habits, I say they would not be able to do so. A horse should be allowed to roll on the ground after dragging the cart for some distance. The horse has to roll on the dust, and then only it feels easy. These are habits of particular types of life, whether they be of men or animals. But taking all in all, I have to protest if anybody is under the impression that the Secretariat people are not working or that the Secretariat is over-manned. There are some places where we can pick and choose. If only a large number of smaller-paid people can safely be retrenched and sent out, we can put more work on some of the officers there, and get the quality of the work also improved. But that will give rise to other problems, graver problems, and more difficult problems.

"Then, Sir, many hon. Members referred to an old superstition—I may call it superstition—that the Revenue Board was unnecessary. I call it a superstition now because I have seen how it has grown to-day. I wish to take hon. Members into my confidence in this matter. There was a time when Collectors were senior men of good experience who could be entrusted with the entire responsibility of the district without any danger. But to-day that is not the case. All district officers have to be looked after, and I know from my own personal experience that the four or five gentlemen who sit on the Board of Revenue are senior officers in the Civil Service cadre. They have got very good experience. They have got the accumulated experience of the administration of the State in so many departments and so many districts. Now, without them it would not be possible to govern this State properly. The Secretariat is a different thing. There we have younger men to advise the Ministers, to get papers together, and all that. But the Board of Revenue is the head of the District Administration in a different way. They have to guide, control and supervise the work of the Collectors. They have not only to supervise the work of the Collectors but also that of the various district officers of other departments. The four or five gentlemen on the Board of Revenue are doing useful work. If Mr. Viswanatham should become the Chief Minister, or Mr. Ramamurthi

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should become the Chief Minister, or Mr. Rajachidambaram should become the Chief Minister, or any other should become the Chief Minister, I would strongly advise him not to do away with the Board of Revenue. It is very necessary, and it is very much more necessary to-day than at any other time.

“ Then, Sir, a point was made that the salaries of the officials, Secretaries and others, were too much. I must say that this has been looked into with great trouble. There is nobody here who is a greater devotee of economy and of parsimonious administration than Sardar Vallabhai Patel or myself. We are people who are used to run a village on Rs. 5 a month and running an elementary school on Rs. 3-8-0 per month. We are all old-fashioned people who know how to do things on very small expenditure. Yet, when Sardar Patel, Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others met together and looked into the matter, we decided, after considering every aspect of the question, that the new Civil Service of ours, namely, the Indian Administrative Service, should have a certain start and a certain finish. These scales of pay have been fixed after great deliberation, and those scales apply to the higher officials. Therefore, it is no use saying in a casual debate that everybody is paid too much. Every one knows his own affairs and not the affairs of others. We judge everybody on the basis of our own experience. It is not correct. If we reduce the salary of the Indian Administrative Service now, we will go in for deterioration, for which hon. Members will not be prepared. It will be very bad for the country. What they get now is settled after much consideration, and I would not advise any one to launch on a programme of reduction in their salaries. It is a different thing to ask people to lead a simple life, to give away what they save, to surrender voluntarily, etc. But it would not do to have a uniform scale less than what has been prescribed for the Indian Administrative Service.

“ Then, Sir, one hon. Member, speaking about the Governor of Madras, said that the Governor of Madras had not done this and that, and that the President had done this and that. Sir, the Governor of Madras has not done less than what the President has done. Let me tell hon. Members in round language that if they compare the actuals with the figures which they read in the newspapers, they will find that the Governor of Madras has done as much as the President.

“ I now proceed to a totally different subject that was referred to, before I come to the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi. Mr. Anthony Pillai referred to wrong and inaccurate cost of living indices. We shall look into the matter. But as far as I can see, such objections can be there to any statistical collection of facts and figures. What is the real fact behind all this collection of figures? Somebody goes to the bazaar and asks the wholesaler at what price he buys or sells. Another man goes to another shop-keeper, a retailer, and asks him what he buys and how he buys and sells. When we collect the figures, we get a large number

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of figures from all over the State. There is a certain truth behind all these casually collected figures, and these statistics are useful for our Statistical Officers. To make the charge that these officers are in league with the employers and rich people or with the Government, is all wrong. Statistical officers hardly see any member of the population. They have no time to see anybody. They are lost in their arithmetic, and they send up their figures—pluses and minuses, which are confusing. Nobody looks into them. Nobody advises the officers. Nobody talks to them. But if Mr. Anthony Pillai is right, and there is something wrong in the index figure, it will be looked into. I shall draw the attention of the department concerned to the remarks made here to see that there is no room for complaint on that ground.

“ Sir, the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi's point should be dealt with in some detail. I must start, in spite of his protest, by saying that he has made a typical speech of his. He said, ‘ Prices go up; you ignore them, and so, your decontrol will not succeed.’ That is the sum and substance of what he said.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ No. That is not even the sum and substance.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“ If he has not said that decontrol will fail, I am grateful to him for that. What he said is this, ‘ Do not imagine that I am against decontrol; I did not like the form of control that was prevalent in this State before’. That is a very fine position to take up. Does that mean that he favours control or he does not? Does that mean that he favours decontrol or he does not? Does it mean that he does not like the form of control that existed previously? To that extent, he does not regret that that form of control has been removed. Very good. What is the form of control that he wants? When one says that he does not like a particular form of control, we should know what form of control one wants. I can guess it from the literature to which he is attached more or less. But that has not been explained here.

“ The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi says to me, ‘ If you have no finance, why don't you change the Constitution; you were one of the authors of the Constitution; you must join us in moving an amendment to the Constitution. I do not know what superior position he has in amending the Constitution and why I should go and join him. I should ask him to join me (me in the figurative sense of whoever takes my place). We shall all join to change the Constitution.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ I agree.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“ But we cannot wait. We have to carry on with the finances of our country. Have I not told the Government of India that more taxes should be added up for division among the States? In fact, the newspapers have got sufficient material now for one to infer that I am

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asking for a larger pool of taxes for division. Even that is not sufficient. I would go further and say that a part of the Customs revenue should be divided among the States. What is the Customs revenue in our country? It is practically a duty on raw materials. We export practically only raw materials or semi-manufactured articles. Therefore, it is really a tax on raw materials. I would say that this type of revenue for the Centre is not prevalent in any other part of the world. I can join with anybody, and we shall fight the battle for allocation of more finance to the States. There is no point there for any difference. But why is that brought in here? How does that divide the Opposition from the Government in the present matter except that it gives publicity to the agitation? They are entitled to it, and I do not grudge them. But I make it quite plain that in the matter of a better and more satisfactory division of finance between the Centre and the States, I am also of the same opinion that we should have more money from the Union Government, and that we should, in fact, have more autonomy in the State in many matters. I quite agree, and therefore there is no difference there.

4 p.m. "Then, Sir, everybody was saying that there was too much of corruption. According to the prevailing trend of the speakers in the Opposition, corruption was rampant. But what does the hon. Gentleman Sri P. Ramamurthi advise me to do? He tells me in that connection, 'My dear man, what are you doing to remove corruption? You are preaching morality. But all that preaching of good conduct, preaching of morality based on ancient custom in our country, on ancient faith in our country, and on the ancient doctrines of life prevailing in our country, is not going to remove corruption. You can improve the position by using the film, the cinema and the propaganda machinery of modern life.' Sir, I can assure the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi that nothing will improve by way of morality by using the film or the modern propaganda machinery. He can only improve the power of the spoken lie and the power of the written lie in that way. But I hope that the country will improve by the preaching of morality and my hope is based on what I first referred to, namely, the ancient doctrines of our country, the ancient customs of our country, and the ideals prevailing in our country and accepted by man, woman and child in our country without any education, without any film and without any cinema. Only I should see that people do not forget what they begin with when they are children. Therefore it is that I am following a particular line and I propose to follow that line, whether I am Chief Minister or whether I am not Chief Minister, or whether I am nobody or anybody, because I am interested in that improvement of our country and I know that there is some truth in the line that I have taken and I must stick to it. It is not a new line. I am following the line of better and greater people than myself and I am not going to follow a line in which I must have an alliance with the film producers in order to improve the morality of our people. I know how much space there is for my morality programme in their films and how

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much space they will get out of it for themselves in other directions, if I make a contract with them. Therefore, I do not believe I can follow my friend's advice in that matter, for it comes to this finally, 'Do not follow a campaign of morality; there is nothing useful in that. But follow a campaign of utter defamation. Go about everywhere saying that everybody is corrupt. Do not try to wait for evidence but issue a proclamation that anybody may come and give evidence? Macaulay has written down exactly what will happen if I issued a proclamation like that. Within 24 hours I will get circumstantial details as to how the Collector of a District took bribes in the presence of such and such people. I will get evidence as to how much money was taken and everything else in a number of instances. But all that would be utterly false. That will be the normal consequence of the procedure Sri Ramamurthi has recommended to me. God be thanked that I am given sufficient intelligence not to follow his advice. If I proceed on his advice, I must first of all change the law of procedure in criminal trials, and I must tell the people, 'Never mind, if there is evidence or if there is no evidence, I am going to punish and in fact, I am going to reward people who come with false evidence and I will gather it all and convict people. I will not hesitate to convict and I will not hesitate to hang them also.' (Interruption.) It is all right in Russia. It is natural that Sri Ramamurthi should say that, because in Russia during a particular period, they hanged people for corruption. They held the theory that the bribe-taker and the bribe-giver were the principal enemies of the State. But we have been brought up in a different way and in a different context. The hangings in a revolution bear close relation to the events that took place prior to the hanging. People do not mind a few such hangings after going through many more killings. But here it is different. We have been brought up in this country under a different notion."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"On a point of order, Sir. I would like to know from the Hon. the Chief Minister and also from you whether a friendly State can be referred to in the manner in which it is being referred to here day in and day out when no reference had been made to that State by anyone else in this house? Is it in order and in keeping with our prestige that we should go on defaming a certain State?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, is it a question of order? May I say a few words in reply to it? I am not defaming a friendly country. I am just giving my view about the system of punishment proposed by Sri Ramamurthi for which there is a parallel and precedent in Russia, and I say it will not do any country good and we cannot copy it. We cannot ignore differences between crimes and the need for differences in punishments. We hang people for murder. Sometimes we do not do that. Even a murderer may not be hanged, and so we cannot hang for corruption because the amount of evidence and the quality of evidence that will be got, will all have to be taken into

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account before one can take the responsibility of imposing a particular punishment. Then, I can easily imagine the tragedy that will follow if I were to ignore and pay no heed to the old advice of jurists that there should be a variety of punishments and that capital punishment cannot be prescribed for everything. In the old days in England—let me take another friendly country to satisfy the hon. Gentleman Sri Nagi Reddi—in the old days in England theft was a capital offence. A one pound loaf stolen could result in capital punishment. But it was found that it was not good and that it would not do anybody good. So, they changed the law afterwards. Whether it is Russia or America or England, with regard to the system of jurisprudence and criminal jurisprudence especially, different systems prevail in different countries and we have enough material to come to the conclusion that we can give severer punishment for crimes, but we cannot give the death sentence for everything. I have no objection if my friends will authorize me in suitable cases to give capital punishment. I have got enough hardness of heart to do it if I were put as a Judge. But the difficulty is that the executive is not the judiciary. I cannot go and usurp the Judge's chair and give capital sentences. But all this talk, I must say, is the natural reaction and the repugnance to the offence of corruption. I like and I want that reaction to be roused in everybody's mind, but it will not be roused by giving capital sentences. Let me warn my friends again that capital sentences will bring down pity on even the true criminal, the real criminal. I myself have melted in many cases where I know the offence has been committed. The death sentence is too much. People forget the original child which was murdered and remember only the age and the surroundings of the criminal who is brought before the Court. This is a field where I think I will easily have the better of it if the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi will come into a combat with me, because I have spent 18 years at the Bar as a young gentleman with plenty of energy. I dealt with a variety of cases, including murder cases. Let me tell Sri Ramamurthi that I know all about it and capital sentence will not do for administrative purposes.

“The hon. Gentleman went one step further. He said, ‘As for corruption among the smaller people, they are my clientele. I do not mind that. I sympathise with them. I will excuse them.’ But, Sir, I would tell him that it is not the way to run the administration. If we have to be administrators, we have to be just and we cannot say, ‘You may support me, and therefore, I will excuse your offence.’ If the hon. Gentleman had said, ‘Smaller men are tempted; therefore, you must take a different view of the people’, I can understand it and that is always what the Judge is supposed to do and that is why every Judge is supposed to weigh crime against crime and give sentences accordingly. But the hon. Gentleman said, ‘All the lower officials are poor and everyone of them should be excused. But we have a set of higher officials who are taking bribes and they should be punished’. Sir, I wish to take the occasion to tell the House that it is a superstition to believe that all the higher officers are taking bribes.

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That is wrong. After all, who are those officers? Your son, your nephew, or your brother—these are the officers. It is not people of a different race that are holding the reins of office to-day. They are all our own people. To imagine everyone of them is corrupt in the proportion of his salary, his education, his capacity and his culture is utter nonsense. To imagine that all the officers are corrupt like that is wrong. There are a few people who are corrupt, I admit. But they get arrested and prosecuted. Sometimes they escape also, because the law of jurisprudence that we follow imposes on us a duty that we cannot convict a man unless there is believable evidence that makes the proof a proper reality on which an honest, decent, prudent man can act. Therefore, there are limitations to the discovery and punishment of offences. It is wrong to throw out a defamatory statement on the floor of this House simply because we are all privileged to say anything we like. We can say, 'Everybody is corrupt; Mr. Kudva has a permit for drinks' and we can get away with it. It is only the papers that publish such statements that get into trouble, but we won't get into trouble. I think that we should develop a different procedure and a different manner in dealing with such things.

"One explanation, Sir, before I sit down. I must tell the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi that I did not say that the Members of the Opposition approached me for favours. What I said was this. The context as well as the substance of it and the impression that I wanted to create were these. As soon as I came, hon. Members will remember that I said the Congress Members of the Legislature should not approach the officials of the district and interfere in administrative affairs. Then the question arose that I could not control the hon. Members opposite and I could control only the Congress Members. The Members of the Opposition will go and discuss administrative affairs with officials. Therefore, the question arose, 'You impose on us, Congress Members, a restriction but you cannot impose it on others. They have the advantage of it.' In that connection, I said, 'They have a right to do that. You should not grudge that'. That is all I said. I hope I will not be misunderstood as having said that many hon. Members opposite came to me for any favour. They won't come to me for any favour and they do not expect any favour from me. Even if they ask for it, they know what the consequence will be.

"Sir, I am grateful for the discussion. It is not merely a conventional statement that I make when I say that any important, relevant and remediable matters that may be brought to our notice will be looked into. I hope that the hon. Gentleman Sri Venkateswarlu will withdraw his cut motion."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"On a point of explanation, Sir. The Hon. the Chief Minister seemed to understand that we, on this side of the House, said that all the higher officials were corrupt. It is certainly not our intention to make any such statement. Neither did we make any such statement. On the other hand, we said, 'Corruption is rampant . . .'"

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Don't say 'rampant', say 'prevails.' ”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Yes, prevails, among certain sections of the higher officials. Certain people are there. Therefore, it is those people whom we should attempt to catch rather than the smaller people.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I will try to catch them. Sri Ramamurthi may rest assured that I am a good fisherman in that respect.” (Cheers.)

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, on behalf of the Opposition, I would like to say one thing with regard to the very last sentence of the Hon. the Chief Minister. He said, 'Even if an Opposition Member comes, I won't give any favours'. Let me say that they won't expect any favours from him. Let me also assure him that none of the Opposition will go to him for any favours.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has made a statement to convince the House that he has taken courage. But I feel otherwise and the points I have raised particularly . . . ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member should not make a second speech.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ I do not propose to make any speech now. I do not like to give any opportunity to the Hon. the Leader of the House or the Hon. the Chief Minister to say that we are very adamant and that we are most unreasonable. I am not withdrawing the cut motion and I wanted to say it in a few sentences. That is all.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The question is—

‘ That the allotment of Rs. 1,03,92,200 for Heads of States, Ministers and Headquarters Staff be reduced by Rs. 100 ’.”

The cut motion was lost.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I now put the Demand to the vote of the House. The question is—

‘ That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,03,92,200 under Demand IX—Heads of States, Ministers and Headquarters Staff ’.”

The Demand was carried and the Grant was made.

(2) DEMAND XI—DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS.

4-15 p.m. * THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move—

‘ That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding rupees 5,96,15,400 under Demand XI—District Administration and Miscellaneous.’ ”